1: Titiev E-S (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

If one can accept the accuracy of a letter of Pedro de Valdivia, which contains what is probably the first "description of the Araucanians ever penned,"[5] the Indians were already good husbandmen in the mid-sixteenth century. Valdivia referred to their rich flocks, "with wool that drags along the ground," and to the numerous foods that they "sow for their livelihood, such as maize, potatoes, quinua [*quinoa*?], madi [*maní*?], pepper, and beans. . . ."[6]

Even in the days when they were almost incessantly at war with Spaniards or Chileans, the Araucanians derived much of their sustenance from the soil. Their homeland afforded a few game animals and a number of wild fowl, but they lived primarily on a vegetarian diet. They ate many wild plants, tubers, nuts, and fruits, but they also raised crops of corn, wheat, and potatoes, together with garden products, such as peppers and onions.[7] Farming was left almost entirely to women, and intensive agriculture was seldom attempted. Land was cleared and utilized as occasion demanded, but there was no effort to improve the soil and no great concern over the exact locations and limits of land holdings.

LAND OWNERSHIP

In the Spanish period small units of kindred, whose precise composition is unknown, claimed rights of possession to the areas they occupied. Apparently, the head of a putative kin group held some sort of title on behalf of the entire unit and assigned particular plots for the use of his followers. Ownership applied only to usufruct, for it seems to have been the rule that land itself could neither be sold nor alienated. According to McBride: "It is even doubtful if any fixed practice of inheriting individual holdings had become established, though probably a family remained in possession as long as it desired."[8]

[5] Graham, 1917, p. 100.

[6] *Ibid.* It must be remembered that Valdivia sometimes exaggerated Chile's resources in order to recruit followers.

[7] For further information on these topics, consult Latcham, 1909, pp. 240–41; Guevara, 1929, II: 288–330; and Mansbarh, 1930, pp. 70–122.

[8] McBride, 1936, p. 319.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

has put forward the most ambitious reconstruction of ancient Araucanian society, it may be postulated that before Spanish contacts gained full force, say prior to 1600, the Araucanians were divided into numerous matrilineal, totemic clans.[28] Unfortunately, Latcham's arguments are not always convincing, and his reasoning tends to be laboredy but he has collected enough satisfactory evidence to demonstrate the likelihood that early historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias. Latcham also argued for a general habit of matrilocal residence,[29] an assumption that helps to explain the occurrence of a mother-in-law tabu.

Between about 1600 and 1900, as Latcham suggested, Araucanian society went through a transition from matrilineal to strongly patrilineal forms, coupled with the stringent practice of patrilocal residence. Much of this period, it should be recalled, was devoted to continuous warfare. Against this background Murdock's general remarks on the evolution of social organization are highly appropriate in their application to the specific case of the Mapuche. "Patrilocal residence," said Murdock, "seems to be promoted by any change in culture . . . which significantly enhances the status, importance, and influence of men in relation to the opposite sex. . . . War enhances men's influence and brings them captive (and hence patrilocal) wives and plunder wherewith to buy other women."[30] Murdock also pointed out that "anything which favors polygyny likewise favors the development of patrilocal residence."[30]

Thus, the era of steady fighting may be said to correspond roughly to the phase when Araucanian social organization was most strongly weighted on the masculine side. This was the time when the unilocal, patrilocal household group was the essential unit of society, and when a local chief's status was measured, presumably, in terms of the number of patrilineal

[28] Latcham, 1924, pp. 235–236, *et passim*. Also, see Guevara, 1925, I: 261 ff.

[29] Latcham, 1924, p. 360.

[30] Murdock, 1949, pp. 206–7.

[30] *Ibid.*

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A BRIEF HISTORY OF ARAUCANIAN STUDIES

By Donald D. Brand

The term Araucanian most properly refers to the language once spoken by the many Indian groups between the Rio Choapa (Coquimbo Province) and the Gulf of Corcovado (Chiloé Province). However, growing usage—both vulgar and scientific—makes advisable the use of this name for the Indians themselves, although they were never a political, physical, or cultural unit.

Probably the first European contact with the Araucanians was in 1536, when some of Diego de Almagro's scouts advanced into central Chile. However, it remained for Pedro de Valdivia, in 1541, to conquer all of Araucanian Chile earlier held by the Incas (to the Rio Maule), and to push southward across the Rio Bio-Bio into the forest home of the unconquered Araucanians. Here, in 1553, Valdivia lost his life to these Indians—led by Lautaro and Caupolicán. The conquest was continued by García Hurtado de Mendoza, in whose small army was Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga (Madrid 1533-1594 Madrid). Although Ercilla spent only seventeen months in Chile (1557-59) his *La Araucana* has been considered the greatest epic poem in the Spanish language. This work was commenced in Chile, concluded in Spain, and was published in Madrid in three parts which appeared in 1569, 1578, and 1589. Although good poetry and fairly good history, *La Araucana* ennobled the Indians exceedingly and cannot be relied upon ethnographically. Similar in vein were *El Arauco Domado* (Lima, 1596), by a Chilean creole Pedro de Oña (Angol 1570-1643 Peru), which was good poetry but which made the Indian a highly romantic figure, and *Purén Indómito* (finished in 1999), by Fernando Alvarez de Toledo (born about middle of XVI century).

The century 1541-1641 saw a temporary conquest and settlement of most of the Araucanian country to Chiloé Island, followed by triumphant insurgence of the Indians which left only a few isolated settlements and missions south of the Bio-Bio—such as Arauco, Valdivia, and Castro—in the hands of the Spaniards. A treaty of 1641, confirmed in 1651, saw Spain recognize the independence of the Indians south of the Bio-Bio. During the next one hundred and twenty years (until the peace of 1773, not really effective until 1782) Spanish-Araucanian relationships consisted mainly of many guerrilla raids (for slaves, revenge, booty, and punitive) and numerous peace agreements. Only the uprisings of 1723 and 1766 were general. The period 1773-1859 was one almost of peace, excepting for the participation of many Araucanians on the side of the royalist Spaniards against the republican creole Chileans in the War for Independence, 1810-1826.

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Entry

The 350 years of Spanish occupation of Chile and contacts with the Araucanians provided, in addition to the poems mentioned above, very little of interest to the anthropologist excepting through the writings of Jesuit missionaries. The Society of Jesus entered Chile in 1593 and was expelled in 1768. One might say that the history of the Jesuits in Chile is the history of the Araucanians. All the leading historians of Chile of this period and nearly all of the Araucanian grammars and dictionaries in use during the Spanish colonial period were composed by the Jesuit fathers. Their published works and unedited manuscripts are still among the chief historical sources. The principal historical works that the student of Araucania should consult are (most important works are marked *):[1]

*D. BARROS ARANA, Luis MONTT, J. T. MEDINA, et al.: *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional*. 45 vols., Santiago, 1861-1925. [Contains many of the works elsewhere mentioned separately, e.g., Gregory Mariñelarena II, Núñez de Pineda III, Olivares IV, VII, and XXVI, Ginges de Vidaurre XIV, XV, Molina XI and XXVI, Ovalle XII, XIII, et al.]

*J. T. MEDINA: *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Chile, 1510-1818*. 30 vols., Santiago 1888-1902.

*Claudio GAY: *Historia física y política de Chile*. 30 vols., Paris, 1844-54. [The French naturalist (1800-1873) explored much of Chile, 1828-1842, on commission from President Portales. *Documentos*, 2 vols., 1846-52, are valuable for such items as: *Cartas de don Pedro de Valdivia, Noticias sobre las costumbres de los Araucanos, Informe de Don Miguel de Olivares*, etc.]

*Pedro de ANGELIS: *Colección de obras y documentos relativos á la historia antigua y moderna de las provincias del Río de la Plata*. 6 vols., Buenos Aires, 1836-37. [1794-1806]

Alonso de OVALLE: *Histórica de Chile dónde se descubrimiento hasta el año del 1571*. Santiago, 1903. [Gregory (1604-1679) was captain for many years in the Araucanian wars.]

Francisco NUÑEZ DE PINEDA Y BASCUÑAN: *Cautiverio Feliz ... y Razón individual de las guerras dilatadas del Reino de Chile*. Santiago, 1863. [Captain Núñez (Chillán 1607-1682) based his book on a seven months captivity in 1629 among the Araucanians.]

*P. Alonso de OVALLE, S. J.: *Histórica relación del reyno de Chile*. Roma, 1646. [An "armchair" study done by a Chilean Jesuit (Santiago 1601-1651, Lima).]

*P. Diego de ROSALES, S. J.: *Historia general de el reyno de Chile*. 3 vols., Valparaiso, 1877-78. [This Jesuit scholar (Madrid 1601-1677) went to Chile in 1629, and spent many years among the Araucanians. Although pro-Indian, his history has much good realistic ethnography. The history carries to 1656.]

1. Actas de la Sociedad Colombiana de Chile—CSC
Anales de la Universidad de Chile—AUC
Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris—JSAP
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute—JRAI
Publicaciones del Museo de Etnología y Arqueología de Chile—PMEAC
Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía—RCHG

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which provided for the placing of the Indians on reservations, allotted in title to the chiefs representing the various family groups) led to the revolt of 1869-70. This culminated with the reduction of much of Araucanía, and the founding of a line of forts south of the Bío-Bío along the Río Malleco. However, during the War of the Pacific (1879-83) Chile moved most of her garrison troops north into Bolivia and Chile, and the Araucanians commenced their final revolt. The capitulation of Lima in 1883 released experienced and equipped soldiers who (1883-84) completely conquered Araucanía. The Araucanian capacity for resistance was definitely crushed by the cholera epidemic of 1886-87. A string of towns, such as Victoria and Temuco, 1881, were established along the north-south road between Angol and Puerto Montt; new laws were set up regarding the Araucanians and their lands in 1883; and the *Frontera* was incorporated in the national domain by the organization of the provinces of Malleco and Cautín in 1887. This ended the epic resistance of the Araucanians against Spanish and Chilean aggression that had lasted more than 360 years. During this period the main wars and insurrections were ten in number: War of initial conquest, 1550-1603, 1604-1650, 1723, 1766, 1819-1825, 1855, 1859, 1869-1870, and 1879-1884.

POPULATION

Now, thanks to disease (smallpox, phthisis, typhus, malaria, measles, cholera, etc.), alcoholism, and war, the Araucanians were at their nadir. In the succeeding years the land situation became somewhat stabilized; a subsistence and barter economy (based upon livestock, cereals, potatoes, fruits, lumber, textiles, silverwork, etc.) functioned; schools, new missions, hospitals, and improved lines of communication and transportation were established; and the Araucanian population began to increase.

The number of Araucanians living at various periods during the past 80 years has been a matter more of guessing than of counting. National censuses have been taken in Chile in 1835, 1843, 1854, 1865, 1875, 1885, 1895, 1907, 1930, 1940, and the last one in November of 1949. These censuses have been of varying reliability, but none made any real attempt to enumerate the Araucanians prior to that of 1885. Most of the estimates place the number of Araucanians in 1880 between 50,000 and 55,000. These were obviously wrong since the census of 1907 listed 101,000 and that of 1930 gave a total of 105,000 Araucanians. In the writings of both Chileans and foreigners during the past 50 years one most commonly encounters a statement such as "somewhat more than 100,000." The statements actually range from 40,000 (Pacheco y Cerda: *Araucanos Indígenas*, 1898, p. 683) to 150,000 (Carbone: *Geography of Latin America*, 1888, p. 121). Although the details of the 1940 census have not been published as yet, the author was informed that the government recognized the existence of some 197,000 Araucanians. However, this number reflects upon the validity of the

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born, and these were replaced in part by slaves brought in from raids southward, and by Indians from Peru and Bolivia. However, the number steadily diminished, and only a few thousand remained in 1791 when the king ordered complete abolishment of encomiendas. O'Higgins, royal governor of Chile, carried out the order and placed the remaining Indians in different villages and new settlements. Although the Indian language is dead, Indian physical types and customs still can be distinguished at some of these places, e.g., Pomaire near Melipilla.

The main Mapuche group is now represented between the Maule and the Bio-Bio by only a few scattered families and individuals. At a few villages, e.g., Quinchamalli near Chillán, there persist handicrafts which may represent a Mapuche origin, such as certain primitive-type ceramics. The Mapuche constitute the bulk of the existing Araucanians, and they are to be found mainly in the provinces of Malleco, Cautín, and Bio-Bio, with extention into the peripheral provinces of Arauco, Concepción, and Valdivia. The Huilliche are next in importance, followed by the closely allied Cunco (Kuncho); these two groups occupy Valdivia and Llanquihue provinces. A mixture of Huilliche and Cuncо with the now extinct Poya and possibly Chono gave rise to the Chilotes, some of whose hispanized descendants still live in the provinces of Chiloé. Near the Chilean-Argentine border, and extending into Argentina are Picunche, Pehuenche, and Huilliche (Nauquenvar) bands, which sometimes are referred to collectively as Araucanos Rayanos or simply Pehuenches. The western Mapuche are the Moluches, just as eastern Araucanians are Pehuenche.

Missions

The study of the Araucanians began with the Roman Catholic[1] missionaries who had to learn both language and customs in order to effectively preach to and convert the natives. Franciscans, 1555, Mercedarians, 1548, and Dominicans, 1607, came early to Chile, and the Jesuits, 1593, and Augustinians, 1595, came before the end of the 16th century. Most of the missionary work among the Araucanians has been done by the Franciscans, Jesuits (1593-1768), Capuchins (1848-) and Salesians. During the colonial period the Jesuits wrote most of the works (letters and histories) that contained anthropological material, and also compiled most of the grammars and dictionaries. During much of the 19th century, Franciscans had missions in northern Araucanía, and the Valdivia-Chiloé area, and Capuchins worked to the south of the Río Cautín. Most of these missionaries were Chileans, Italians, and Germans. More recently the Roman Catholic missionary work has been through the Vicariate Apostólico de las Misiones Capuchinas de la Araucanía (established by Pope Leo XII in 1901 as the

1. The best guide to Roman Catholic missionary literature is Robert Streit, [illegible]; Bibliotheca Missionum, 7 vols., Münster and Aachen, 1916-1931, the 2nd and 3rd volumes being devoted to the Americas.

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Prefectura Apostólica de la Araucanía, which he gave to German Capuchins from the Province of Bavaria). Salesian missionaries have worked among the Araucanians of Argentine Patagonia since 1879 (*cf. Bollettino Salesiano*, monthly, Turin, 1877-). Since the pacification of Araucanía several Protestant groups have entered the field, e.g., the Anglican Church's South American Missionary Society of London which opened its Araucanian mission[4] in 1895 (some valuable material is to be found in the *South American Missionary Magazine*), the Methodist Episcopal Board of Foreign Missions' Araucanian Indian Mission, and the American Southern Baptists. Temuco, capital of Cautín province, is the chief Araucanian market-town and headquarters, and here are several mission schools and convents. Among these are establishments of the Capuchins, Methodists, Baptists, and Hermanas de la Providencia. It is an interesting commentary on Protestant work in Araucanía that no Protestant missionary has yet made an outstanding contribution in linguistics or ethnology. Further, one might quote a Capuchin father concerning "Ciertas sectas protestantes o evangélicas de Inglatierra y Estados Unidos," that they are "sectas que predican con odio poco cristiano contra los sacerdotes católicos y las doctrinas e instituciones de nuestra santa religión. . . . En general estos nuestros hermanos disidentes ayudan a aumentar la confusión."

LINGUISTICS

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The earliest known works on the Araucanian language and dialects (known variously as Araucano, Auca, Chileno or Chilidugu, Moluche, Che, Mapuche or Mapudungu, etc.) are lost, such as the grammar and dictionary of ca. 1595 by Padre Gabriel de la Vega, S. J. The earliest preserved work is by Padre Valdivia, S. J., a rather incomplete grammar published around the beginning of the 16th century. Then a long period ensued[5] before the much better works of Padre Febrés, S. J., and Padre Havestadt, S. J., appeared in 1765 and 1777. These were improved upon by Fray Hernández, O. F. M., in 1846. Little new or constructive work was accomplished until a trained philologist, Dr. Lenz, placed the study of Araucanian on a scientific basis in 1895. His work and example inspired a number of Chilean writers and Capuchin missionaries to collect and publish texts, and to revise the old grammars and dictionaries. Lenz was ably assisted by another great German philologist, R. R. Schuller. Now the Araucanian language can be considered as one of the six or eight most intensively studied Indian languages, although yet far from completely studied or satisfactorily

4. Dr. C. A. Sadleir, a Canadian, opened the S. A. M. S. work in Araucanía, although as early as 1838 Captain Allen Gardiner, R. N. (who was killed, 1851, in Tierra del Fuego) had planned such a mission. Dr. Sadleir later became affiliated with the Araucanian Indian Mission; has been elected honorary president of the Araucanian Federation of Chile; and, since 1901, has been translating various books of the Bible into Araucanian, with the assistance of Ambrosio Painilef.

5. See Rudolf R. Schuller: *El vocabulario Araucano de 1642-1643*, which reproduces an intervening work first published in 1647.

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annlyzed. There follows a list of the better known dictionaries, grammars, texts, and miscellaneous treatises, with the more important works indicated by an asterisk:

P. Luis de VALDIVIA, S. J.: *Arte y Gramatica general de la Lengua que corre en todo el Reyno de Chile.* Lima, 1606. [Born Granada 1560; to Chile 1593; great defender of the Indians; died 1642.]

*P. Andrés FEBRÉS, S. J.: *Arte de la Lengua General del Reyno de Chile.* Lima, 1765. [Spain 1734-1790 Geneva; Juan M. Larsen published the above in parts in Buenos Aires, 1882, 1884.]

Father Thomas FALKNER, S. J.: *A Description of Patagonia, and the Adjoining Parts of South America.* Hereford, 1774. [1707-1784. Lived in Patagonia ca. 1740-67; contains Moluche vocabulary; editions in Buenos Aires 1885 & 1911, Chicago 1935.]

*P. Bernhard HAVESTADT, S. J.: *Chilidúgu, sive Res Chilensis.* Münster i. Westphalia, 1777. [1708-1781. Written in Spanish 1753-65; facsimile edition of Julius Platzmann, 1883, Leipzig, in 2 vols., *Chilidúgu, sive Tractatus Linguae Chilensis.*]

*Fray Antonio HERNÁNDEZ I CALZADA, O. F. M.: *Diccionario Chileno Hispano, Compuesto por el r. p. misionero Andrés Febrés... Enriquecido de voces i mejorado por el r. p. m. fr. Hernández.* Santiago, 1846. [1774-1847.]

R. R. SCHULLER [Editor]: *Confesionario por Preguntas y Pláticas Doctrinales en castellano y araucano según el manuscrito inédito del misionero franciscano Fray Antonio Hernández Calzada* [1843]. Santiago, 1907. [This is *Bibliotecta de linguística americana*, t. 1.]

Dr. Ludwig DARAPSKY: "La lengua araucana." *Revista de artes y letras*, t. III, pp. 153-185, Santiago, 1888. [1857-?]

Aníbal ECHEVERRÍA Y REYES: *La lengua araucana.* Santiago, 1889. [1864- ?]

Heinrich Robert Rudolf LENZ [commonly Rodolfo Lenz]: *Araukanische Märchen.* Valparaíso, 1892. [Germany 1863; to Chile ca. 1890; founder of scientific philology in Chile, and "Father" of modern *Araucanistas;* died 1938.]

D. BARROS ARANA and R. Lenz: "La Lingüística Americana, su historia i su estado actual," AUC, t. LXXXIV, pp. 985-1029, 1893.

Bartolomé MITRE: *Lenguas Americanas. Estudio Bibliográfica-Lingüístico de las obras del Padre Luis de Valdivia sobre el araucano y el allentiak.* La Plata, 1894. [The scholar-president of Argentina; 1821-1906.]

*Rodolfo LENZ: "Estudios araucanos," in scattered volumes of the AUC, 1895-97.

I. Viaje al país de los Manzaneros contado en dialecto huilliche. t. XC, pp. 359-385.

II. Diálogos araucanos en dialecto huilliche. t. XC, pp.843-878.

III. Diálogos araucanos en dialecto picunche. t. XCI, pp. 195-241.

IV. Trozos menores en Picunche i Huilliche. t. XCIII, pp. 427-438.

V. Diálogos en dialecto Pehuenche Chileno. t. XCIII, pp. 507-555.

VI. Cuentos Araucanos . . . en dialecto Pehuenche Chileno. t. XCIV, scattered.

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fines del siglo XVIII." *Revista de la Universidad de Buenos Aires*, t. 25, 1914. [Buenos Aires, 1878-1939.] 113

*Fray Félix José de AUGUSTA, O. M. Cap.: *Diccionario araucano-español y español-araucano*. 2 vols., Santiago, 1916.

Pablo GROEBER: "Toponomia araucana." *Anales de la Sociedad de Estudios "Gaea,"* t. II, Buenos Aires, 1926.

*Fray Ernesto Wilhelm de MOESBACH, O. M. Cap.: *Vida y Costumbres de los indígenas araucanos en la segundad mitad del siglo XIX*. Santiago, 1930. [In Chile since 1920. Texts in Spanish and Araucanian constituting the detailed biography of Pascual Coña, ca. 1847-1927.]

ETHNOGRAPHY

Although a great amount of ethnographic material exists in print concerning the Araucanians, there is yet to be written a definitive ethnography. No trained anthropologist has ever lived for any length of time among these Indians. Consequently, most works containing ethnographic material are primarily histories, travelogues, annals of the various religious, texts compiled for linguistic purposes, and scattered brief observations on various elements of Araucanian culture. The most comprehensive treatment is to be found in the writings of R. E. Latcham, R. E. Housse, and T. Guevara. However, *Vida y Costumbres*, by Moesbach, gives—in the form of a detailed biography of Pascual Coña (1847-1927)—a very good picture of Araucanian life. 114

Greatest attention has been given to the collecting of folkloric material—myths, legends, tales, and songs, and items illustrating the religious concepts of the Araucanians. This undoubtedly grew out of the fact that priests have done the major share of primary collecting and recording. Among the leading contributors in this field (both primary and secondary) have been: F. J. de Augusta, G. Beck, J. Benigar, A. Cañas Pinochet, F. J. Cavada, H. J. Claude Joseph, S. Englert, E. Gerdts-Rupp, T. Guevara, M. Gusinde, R. E. Latcham, R. Lehmann-Nitsche, R. Lenz, M. Manquilef, E. W. Moesbach, A. Oyarzún, E. Rivadeneira, and G. & J. Soustelle. Chief producers of bi-lingual texts have been Augusta, Lenz, Manquilef, and Moesbach.

Music, dances, and games usually have received only incidental treatment. E. Pereira Salas (who is working on a history of music in Chile), C. Isamitt, J. Urrutia Blondel, and W. Giese are among the leaders in this field. K. G. Izikowitz, E. M. Hornbostel (†), C. Lavin, and F. C. Lange are library and museum workers who have contributed from foreign lands.

In the great field of economics there have been many papers but most of the contributions are rather scanty. Latcham is an honorable exception. Among those treating on ethno-biology and agriculture are R. E. Latcham, K. Reiche, E. W. Moesbach, A. Cañas Pinochet, R. A. Philippi, M. Gusinde, W. Knoche, A. Oyarzún, O. Reszczynski, and F. A. Fonck. The discussion of arts and crafts has centered upon textiles, ceramics, and metalwork. Latcham has made the most complete treatment of pottery. Writers on textiles include A. Oyarzún, R. E.

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• 114 Latcham, S. K. Lothrop (A. H. Verrill in 1924, and Lothrop in 1929 and 1930 collected textiles for the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation), G. Looser, R. E. Claude Joseph ,and M. D. Millán. R. E. Claude Joseph and A. Fontecilla Larraín have written specifically on silverwork.

There follows a list of works, other than those already mentioned under history and language, which contain ethnographic material. The list is arranged chronologically for the period 1824-1891, and alphabetically by authors 1892-1940. It contains the more significant works and a selection of others to represent varied content and authorship. The more important works are marked with an asterisk.

1824-1891

113 Peter SCHMIDTMEYER: *Travels into Chile, over the Andes.* London, 1824.

William Bennet STEVENSON: *A Historical and Descriptive Narrative of Twenty Years' Residence in South America.* 3 vols., London, 1825. [1787-?]

John MIERS: *Travels in Chile and La Plata.* 2 vols., London, 1826. [1789-1879.]

Eduard Friedrich POEPPIG: *Reise in Chile, Peru, und auf dem Amazonenstrome während der Jahre 1827-1832.* 2 vols., Leipzig, 1835-36. [1798-1868; Botanist, in Chile 1827-29.]

Alcide D. d'ORBIGNY: *L'Homme Américain,* 2 vols., Paris, 1839. [This is Vol. 4, pt. 1, of the great French (1802-1857) naturalist's *Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale,* 9 vols., Paris, 1835-1847.]

Captain Allen Francis GARDINER, R.N.: *A Visit to the Indians on the Frontiers of Chile.* London, 1841. [1794-1851.]

*Ignacio DOMEYKO: *Araucanía i sus habitantes.* Santiago, 1845. [Lithuanian geologist, 1802-1889, who was one of the great rectors of the University of Chile.]

Fray Victorino PALAVICINO, O.F.M.: *Observaciones ... sobre la Civilización de los Araucanos.* Concepción, 1854.

*Edmond Reuel SMITH: *The Araucanians or Notes of a Tour among the Indian Tribes of Southern Chile.* New York, 1855. [Smith was a member of the United States Naval Astronomical Expedition to Chile, 1849-52. The work was translated by Latcham and published in Santiago, 1915.]

*Pedro RUIZ ALDEA: "Ojeada sobre la provincia de Arauco," *El Ferrocarril* for 1856, Santiago [One of the two leading Chilean newspapers of that date]. This was republished as *Los Araucanos y sus costumbres,* Los Angeles, 1868, Concepción 1893, and Santiago, 1902. 1830-1870.]

*Fray Victorino PALAVICINO. O.F.M.: *Memoria sobre la Araucanía por un misionero del colegio de Chillán.* Santiago, 1860.

Pablo TREUTLER: *La Provincia de Valdivia i los Araucanos.* Santiago, 1861. [Paul Treutler, 1822-1887.]

Guillermo Eloi COX: *Viaje en las rejiones septentrionales de la Patagonia, 1862-1863.* Santiago, 1863.

Carlos GARCÍA HUIDOBRO: *Viaje a las provincias meridionales de Chile i su descripción.* Santiago, 1863.

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*Rodolfo LENZ: "Araukanische Maerchen und Erzaehlungen mitgeteilt von Segundo Jara (Kalvun)," *Verhandlungen des Deutscher Wissenschaftlicher Vereins zu Santiago de Chile*, t. III, pp. 169-238. 1896. 113

Rodolfo LENZ: "Tradiciones e ideas de los Araucanos acerca de los terremotos," AUC, t. CXXX, 1912.

Gualterio LOOSER: "Die Araukaner-Gewebe," *Andina, Zeitschrift für Naturfreunde und Wanderer*, t. V, pp. 10-17, Valparaíso, 1926. [Now president of the Academia de Ciencias Naturales de Chile.]

*Samuel Kirkland LOTHROP: "Notes on Indian Textiles of Central Chile," *Indian Notes*, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, 7:3:324-35, 1930. [1892- Collected Mapuche material 1929, 1930.]

*Carl Eduard MARTIN: *Landeskunde von Chile*. Hamburg, 1909.

María Delia MILLÁN: "Tejidos araucanos del Neuquén," *Actas del XXV Congreso de Americanistas, La Plata*, t. 1, pp. 215-222, 1932.

Franz William NEGER: "En la Patria de la Araucaria. Los Pinares y los Araucanos," ASSC, t. XX, pp. 37-108, 1910. [1868-1923.]

Dr. Aureliano OYARZÚN N.: *Cultura aborígena de Chiloé*. Santiago, 1935. [Dr. Oyarzún, born Dalcahue 1860, physician and anthropologist, has been director of the Museo Histórico Nacional de Chile since 1939, and was the director of the former Museo de Etnología y Antropología de Chile.]

———: "Los aborígenes de Chile," *Festschrift . . . au P. W. Schmidt*, Wein, 1928.

Karl Friederich REICHE: "La isla Mocha," *Anales del Museo Nacional*, cuad. 16, Etnología, Santiago, 1903. [1860-1929; plant geographer, botanist.]

*Carlos OLIVER SCHNEIDER: *Los indios de Chile*. Concepción, 1933. [Uruguay, 1899- ; geologist and archaeologist, director Museo de Concepción 1915- .]

A. POLAKOWSKY: "Die Heutigen Aurakaner," *Globus* no. 74, 1898.

*Eulojio ROBLES RODRÍGUEZ: "Costumbres i creencias araucanas," AUC, t. CXIX-CXXXI, 1906-1914. [A series treating chiefly on funeral ceremonies, *machis*, and dances.]

L. F. RUEZ: *Los indios araucanos de la República Argentina*. Buenos Aires, 1929.

*Georgette & Jacques SOUSTELLE: *Folklore chilien*. Paris, 1938. [French ethnologists and philologists; Georgette, Tunis 1909-; Jacques, France 1912-]

*Agustín TORREALBA Z: *Tierras del Estado y radicación de indígenas*. Santiago, 1908. [Enlarged edition 1917, 3 vols.]

PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

History, linguistics, and ethnography have been given far more attention than physical anthropology and archaeology. Various naturalists and ship's surgeons during the past 200 years have contributed scattered measurements and observations, and a few small series of Araucanian skeletal material are present in Chile, Argentina, France, Germany, Great Britain, Spain, Scandinavia, Italy, and the United States. However, no museum has an adequate collection, and not even one anthropometric index, ratio, or simple measurement has 114 141

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114 141 been made over an adequate number of specimens. Stature and certain cranial measurements and indices provide the bulk of content in the literature to date.

Among resident Chileans, R. E. Latcham was one of the first to devote some attention to the physical anthropology of the Araucanians (1903). Local physicians from time to time have published brief notes; and such general historians as J. T. Medina and T. Guevara have devoted some space to physical anthropology. The most auspicious recent development is the work at the Universidad de Concepción (under the leadership of Dr. Karl Otto Henckel and Dr. Alexander Lipschütz). A number of papers are appearing in two series (*Contribuciones a la Patología Geográfica de Chile*, and *Contribuciones al Estudio de la Antropología Chilena*) published in the *Boletín de la Sociedad de Biología de Concepción*. Among these papers is a report on bloodtyping. G. Rahm in 1931 (Berlin and Madrid) published two papers on blood types among the Mapuche and Fuegians. Some of the earlier works include:

113 Alcide D. d'ORBIGNY: *L'homme américain*. 2 vols., Paris, 1839.

Léonce Pierre MANOUVRIER: "Sur les Araucans du Jardin d'Acclimatation," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie*, Paris, Ser. 3, VI, 727-32, 1883. [France 1850-1927 Paris.]

Herman F. C. Ten KATE: "Contribution à la crâniologie des Araucans Argentins," *Revista del Museo de La Plata*, IV, pp. 211-220, 1893. [Dutch physical anthropologist; lived for a time in Argentina; 1858-1931.]

R. E. LATCHAM: "Notes on Chilean Anthropology," JRAI, XXXIII, pp. 167-178, 1903.

R. E. LATCHAM: "Notes on the Physical Characteristics of the Araucans," JRAI, XXXIV, pp. 170-180, 1904. [Latcham lived for three years in Malleco and Cautín.]

Ricardo E. LATCHAM: "Antropología chilena," *Revista del Museo de la Plata*, XVI, pp. 241-318, 1909.

Nello PUCCIONI: "Cranii araucani e patagoni," *Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia*, XLII, 1912. [Italy, 1881-1937.]

Luis de HOYOS SAINZ: "Crânes fuégiens et araucans du musée anthropologique de Madrid," JSAP, n. s., X, pp. 181-194, 1913. [Spain, 1861- .]

ARCHAEOLOGY

114 172 The archaeology of Araucanía, as such, has not been done. There are no imposing ruins in central Chile and no scientific excavation has been done in this area. Consequently, with the lack of stratigraphic data, little can be done toward identifying material as Araucanian except from association with European artifacts, or through the frequently dubious channels of style design, and general typology. The sequence of peoples and cultures, the provenience of the Araucanians and their antiquity in central Chile, and the amount of Tiahuanaco, Chinca, Inca and other influences, are still moot matters—although many writers have solved all of these problems to their own

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satisfaction. From the Río Maule to Chiloé Island the chief archaeologic items are pictographs and petroglyphs, stone projectile points and bolas and other weapons, stone rings (weights for digging sticks, or mace heads), mealing stones, polishing stones, hammerstones, celts, adzes, hoes, gravers, burens, "hominy" holes, spindle whorls, stone and pottery pipes, *toquis*, and pottery. The chief archaeologic sites are boulder patches, caves, coastal kitchen middens, small habitation, refuse and burial mounds (*ancoviña* is term used for some), potsherd areas, and *ruka* sites. The area between the Maule and Bío-Bío rivers is much richer than the wetter forested country to the south.

The men at present most active in the archaeology of Araucanía are Mr. Dillman S. Bullock, of El Vergel, Angol (Bullock lived some 10 years farther south in Araucanía, ca. 1907-1917, before coming to Angol in 1923), and Dr. Carlos Oliver Schneider, of the Universidad de Concepción. Latcham, Oyarzún, Looser, and others have worked in the area from time to time. Mr. Bullock (Methodist missionary, agricultural expert, and ornithologist, as well as archaeologist) has a small but excellent museum at El Vergel. Other museums containing material from Araucanía are in Temuco, Concepción, Santiago, and Valparaíso. The Museum of the American Indian-Heye Foundation in New York has the best collection of Araucanian material in the United States.

AUTHOR'S NOTE: Any corrections of errors of commission and omission will be greatly appreciated. It was impossible to compare many titles with the originals, and errors in pagination, volume, date of actual publication, capitalization, punctuation, and accentuation must occur. A common practice in Chile is the reprinting of separates from serials and periodicals with a different date, different pagination, often without mentioning the medium of original publication, and sometimes with a different title. In the case of many writers of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, dates of birth and death are given variously by different authorities. The author has attempted to give these dates for all individuals concerning whom information was readily available. In the case of many individuals born in the middle third of the 19th century, it has not been possible to determine if they are still alive. [Date-?] means probably or definitely dead, but date not known. [Date-] means probably or definitely alive as of 1941. The names of the writers of non-Spanish origin often appear both in original form and in hispanized form. An attempt has been made to give (with the first citation) the complete baptismal form, whereever known, even though the name does not so appear on the work in question. Chileans are even more prone than most Latin Americans to use the complete form including surnames of both father and mother. [*Cf.* Luis Thayer Ojeda (1877-): "Orijen de los Apellidos en Chile." *Proceedings Second Pan American Scientific Congress*, Vol. I, pp. 61-112, 1917.]

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

ETHNOLOGY OF THE ARAUCANOS.

By R. E. Latcham,

Local Correspondent of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

[With Plates XXXIV, XXXV.]

The Araucanos, as the Indians of Southern Chile are generally called, form one of the most indomitable races of which we have any record. During more than three centuries they offered such resistance to the Spanish arms, hitherto invincible in both Americas, that within their territories colonies could only be maintained in the immediate vicinity of walled towns or fortified strongholds. Even the most impregnable of these were time after time razed to the ground, and their inhabitants massacred, by these hardy barbarians.

In a former article[1] I have treated of the principal physical characters of this race, and now propose to give a short sketch of the most striking traits of their daily life.

Many writers have described the manners and customs of the Araucanos, frequently, however, in a superficial way. Among the older Spanish writers, notwithstanding, we have some very important accounts, and of late years two most notable works have appeared treating on this subject, *Aborigenes de Chile*, by José Toribio Medina, and the *Historia de la Civilizacion en la Araucania*, by Tomas Guevara.

My remarks are the result of personal observation during a three years' residence in Indian territory among the tribes of the Cautin valley, and also in the neighbourhood of Angol and Traiguen in the Malleco province. Where the customs seem to have been modified, I have consulted the most reliable of the old authors of the time of the Conquest.

Although the Araucano is extremely conservative and indisposed to change his manner of life, two principal factors have tended to modify considerably his social condition. The first was foreign invasion, and the second, really a corollary of the first, was the introduction of spirituous liquors.

There have been two foreign invasions which have left their indelible mark on the development of the race; the first by the Incas, and the second by the Spaniards.

The former first brought the Araucano into touch with civilisation. From this epoch date his knowledge of domestic animals, of the elements of agriculture, and of such arts as weaving and metal working. This period also sees him first begin to adopt a more sedentary life, constructing rude huts instead of the usual *toldo* or skin tent.

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.*, xxxiv (1904), pp. 170–180.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

175 be divided into two phases: a preliminary one up to about the end of
648 the 17th century, and the major one beginning with the dawn of the 18th century.

As early as Valdivia's time, some of the "*Pegüenche*" of the upper main Andean Cordillera and of the "*Puelche*" to the east of them were brought to the Villarica region under the encomienda system (Rosales, 1877–78, 1:469). These "*Puelche*" on returning to their own country must have brought back some *Araucanian* cultural influences, some knowledge of the *Araucanian* tongue, and, not unlikely, an occasional *Araucanian* wife. Sporadic raiding by upland "*Pegüenche*" and by lowland *Araucanians* down and across the Andes into the eastern Andean foothills and into the Pampa beyond was occurring as early at least as the middle of the 17th century. (Rosales, 1877–78, 3:431; P. Cabrera, 1929, pp. 52–53; cf. Proceso criminal de 1658, 1929, p. 123.) Furthermore, our scanty published records imply or suggest the probability that individual *Araucanians* or small bands of *Araucanian* refugees or wanderers had meanwhile come down from the upper cordilleran valleys or had crossed from the west of the Andean slopes, and had taken up life, temporarily at least, on the western fringe of the Pampa, more or less associated with the earlier non-*Araucanian* natives. (Cf. Latcham, 1930, 64:222; 65:235.) As early as 1673–80 *Araucanians* were actively trading with non-*Araucanian* peoples of the Pampa (P. Cabrera, 1934, 1:105,108).

The major phase of the *Araucanian* diaspora into the Pampa began, however, only at the end of the 17th or beginning of the 18th century (Latcham, 1929–30). In 1707, *Araucanians* were associating or in alliance with non-*Araucanians* on the Río Quinto around what is now Mercedes, in the Province of San Luis (P. Cabrera, 1927, pp. 54–55). A little later, 1709–15, they were raiding almost to the gates of Buenos Aires (Canals Frau, 1941, pp. 233–234).

By the middle of the 18th century *Araucanians* were occupying the eastern slopes of the Andes and the adjacent Pampa, and were making excursions to capture wild horses as far as the Volcán range in the southern part of what is now Buenos Aires Province, where Cardiel and Falkner found them in 1746 (Cardiel, *in* Fúrlong C., 1938, p. 141). From this time on until the campaigns of Roca and Villegas (1879–83), they played a premier role in aboriginal life on the Pampa north of the Río Negro, and greatly modified the culture of the *Tehuelche* south of the same river.

CULTURE

● 114 By far the greatest bulk of our information on *Araucanian* culture concerns the *Mapuche* and the mainland *Huilliche* (including the *Cunco*). Our information on the culture of the Chilotan and Argentine *Araucanians* is much less extensive; on that of the *Picunche*

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and early *Pehuenche*, relatively very meager. To judge from what we do know of the Chilotan culture, it approximated fairly closely that of the *Huilliche*. The *Picunche* and Argentine *Araucanian* cultures appear appreciably modified by non-*Araucanian* influences. The early *Pehuenche* culture differed sharply in some of its technological aspects from the *Mapuche-Huilliche*. In view of the foregoing facts, it seems wiser, for the sake of clarity, to devote separate sections to the various *Araucanian* subdivisions, covering first and mainly the *Mapuche-Huilliche* culture, and appending shorter separate treatments of the *Picunche*, Argentine *Araucanian*, and *Pehuenche* cultures.

CULTURE OF THE MAPUCHE-HUILLICHE

SOURCES

In the following list of our more important sources, mostly first-hand, on the culture of the *Mapuche-Huilliche*, the numbers between parentheses denote dates of editions used in the present paper; those between brackets, the dates of first publication or of completion of manuscript; those unenclosed, the dates of observation by the respective authors. For convenience, the sources are listed chronologically.

Sixteenth century: Goicueta (1852), [1558], 1558; Ercilla (1910), [1569–89], ca. 1557–60; Góngora Marmolejo (1862), [1575], 1549–75; Mariño de Lovera (1865), [ca. 1594], 1551–94; Olaverria (1852), [1594]; Oña (1917), [1596].

Seventeenth century: L. de Valdivia (1887), [1606], 1593–1622; González de Nájera (1889), [1614], 1601–7; Bascuñan (1863), [1673], 1629; Brouwer (1892), [1646], 1643; Barlaeus (1647); Marcgrav (1648); Ovalle (1888), [1646]; Rosales (1877–78), [1674–], ca. 1629–82.

Eighteenth century: Frézier (1716); Pietas (1848), [1729], 1729; Olivares (1864), [1758–67], (1874), [1736], ca. 1700–67; Febrés (1882), [1765]; Havestadt (1883), [1777], 1748–67; Molina (1878 a), [1776], (1878 b), [1782], (1901), [1787], before 1767; Gómez de Vidaurre (1889), [1789], before 1767; Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876), [1796], ca. 1765–92.

Nineteenth century to 1883: Domeyko (1845), 1845; Smith (1855), 1853; Ruiz Aldea (1902), [1856], ca. 1856; Medina (1882).

1883 to present: Lenz (1895–97, 1896, 1904–10), ca. 1890–1938; Guevara Silva (1898, 1904, 1908, 1911, 1913, 1929), ca. 1898–1935; Latcham (1909, 1915 b, 1922 a, 1922 b, 1928 a, 1928 b, 1929–30, 1936 d), 1888–90, 1892–95; Robles Rodrigues (1942), [1906–14], ca. 1904– ; Félix José de Augusta (1907, 1910, 1916), ca. 1896– ; Bullock (1911), ca. 1907– ; Manquilef (1911, 1914), 1887– ; Gusinde (1916–17, 1922, 1936); Looser (1927, 1934); Claude Joseph (1928 a, 1928 b, 1931, 1933–34), ca. 1928– ; Moesbach (1936), [1930], 1920– ; Lothrop (1930, 1932), 1929–30; McClafferty (1932); Housse (1939), ca. 1930– ; Brand (1941 a, 1941 b, 1941 c); Métraux (1942 b).

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The diet of the *Mapuche* and *Huilliche* was and is predominantly vegetarian. (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 41; Ovalle, 1888, 12:157; Molina, 1901, p. 193; Domeyko, 1845, p. 58; Housse, 1939, p. 166.) Relatively little meat was eaten, outside of feasts. Fish and other

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interested is limited to the widest Spanish designation, that is, those Indians between the Nuble and Imperial Rivers, and, more precisely, the area which today comprises the province of Arauco. This tiny province, some sixty miles long and twenty wide, was the focal point of Araucanian resistance.

The Spanish conquest of Araucanian Chile began in 1550 when Pedro de Valdivia and his followers built a fort and founded the town of Concepción on the northern bank of the Biobío River. From this point they moved south, inflicting military defeats on the Araucanians and dividing them in encomienda. Within three years the Spaniards had ranged below the Calle-Calle River, founding towns and reducing most of the Indians to servitude. The Indians were restive under this imposition of Spanish dominion, but offered no openly unified resistance. On the heels of this initial pacification Valdivia brought in experienced prospectors and miners from Santiago to search out the gold deposits that were believed to exist. The gold-seekers enjoyed incredible success: several strikes were made which yielded nuggets the size of almonds. *"Desde agora,"* quoth Valdivia, *"comienzo a ser señor."*[4]

But the Araucanians were not of like mind. Rapid development of the mines and discoveries of new ones portended undisguised slavery. Under such apprehension the Indians of Tucapel contrived a cunning trap for Valdivia into which he fell, and he was then killed and eaten.[6] This signal event inspired a general uprising which lasted for four years, ending with the death of the Indian leader Lautaro in the battle of Peteroa in 1557.[7] Although the general rebellion was ended at this time, the War of Arauco was begun. The Indians of Arauco, Tucapel, Catiray, and Purén (the present province of Arauco and its peripheries) stubbornly resisted effective Spanish settlement. This phase of the struggle lasted until 1598, when the Indians captured and ate Governor Martín García de Loyola.[8] There followed a spontaneous rebellion of subjugated Indians from the Maule River to Osorno in the south: every Spanish town worthy of the designation was wiped out below the Biobío, with the exception of Castro on the Isle

5 Alonso de Góngora Marmolejo, "Historia de Chile desde su descubrimiento hasta el año de 1573" (in *Colección de historiadores de Chile y documentos relativos a la historia nacional*, 49 vols., Santiago, 1861-1942), vol. 2, pp. 33-34 (this collection will hereafter be cited as CHC). Marmolejo came to Chile with Valdivia in 1549, hence he wrote with considerable experience and authority. His work is fundamental to the study of Araucanian culture.

6 *Idem*, pp. 37-39. Marmolejo's account of Valdivia's death is based on an eyewitness account, hence it is more acceptable than are the many others that are based on rumors and hearsay.

7 For a survey of the first general uprising see Encina, vol. 1, chaps. viii and ix.

8 *Idem*, vol. 2, chap. xxiii; also see Gregorio Serrano, "Relación de lo subcedido en Chile desde veinte de diciembre de noventa y ocho hasta primero de mayo de noventa y nueve" (CHC, vol. 45, pp. 227-233).

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of Chiloé.[9] Thus by 1600 the Spaniards, in spite of heavy expenditures of blood and treasure, faced a triumphant foe across the Biobío.

This impasse which marked the turn of the century suggests the central problem in understanding Araucanian culture. What faculty or genius did the Araucanians possess which enabled them to succeed so brilliantly where other indigenous American cultures had failed? How was it possible for the Araucanian warriors to boast rightfully, after some fifty years of warfare, that the Spaniards knew almost as much about the military art as they did?[10] Historians have been prone to avail themselves of superficially reasonable explanations: most cite the numerical superiority of the Indians; some blame the forest because it hampered the functions of the Spanish cavalry; others stress the overly long lines of supply from Peru, coupled with a chronic lack of viceregal interest. These factors are joined to a common belief that the Araucanians simply adopted the Spanish forms and techniques of war, making up in numbers what they lacked in skill. Chilean historians, especially since the nineteenth century when their homeland fought for independence from Spain, have quite happily viewed the historical record as a proof of Araucanian hence mestizo thence Chilean bravery and love of freedom. The point is that it is not merely a question of military science, topography, relative numerical strength, or racial declension. These may be significant particulars, but a war of survival between two ethnic groups implies a conflict of total cultures.

At once we are at a serious disadvantage because we have no such conception of early Araucanian culture, however well we may feel that we know the Spanish. By means of archaeological evidence and brief narratives of exploration we are able to piece together a rather crude notion of what Araucanian culture was like before the Spaniards came, but nothing more. Largely because the area under discussion became almost at once a zone of perpetual conflict, the work of the religious Orders did not develop as it did elsewhere in the Indies, and we keenly feel the lack of Mendicant chronicles. Consequently, most of our information concerning Araucanian life during the first century of conquest is derived from chronicles and histories of the war in which brief glimpses of Indian life all too infrequently appear. There are added limitations. Wherein the Indians were concerned, the chroniclers were seldom efficient observers. In matters of simple fact they tend to be trustworthy, but when the fact becomes interpretive they almost invariably fail to grasp the human thought and action that lays behind it. Rather than as

9 Alonso González de Nájera, "Desengaño y reparo de la guerra de Chile" (CHC, vol. 16, pp. 10-14, 63-65, *passim*). The author was in Chile from 1601 to 1607. Experienced in military science, he made a brave attempt to analyze Araucanian resistance. His work is invaluable for Araucanian study.

10 *Idem*, pp. 93-94.

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men, they thought of the Indians as wild savages who blindly resisted the sweet yoke of Christianity and Spanish dominion. For this reason they seldom inquired into the possibility of Indian method; rather, Indian resistance was madness. Another weakness inherent in the chronicles is the factor of cultural change. At any given moment the chroniclers made their notations in the belief that what they saw was and had been thus from the beginning of time. Only when contemporaries gave information which contradicted their own observations did they give evidence of change, but without attempting to explain it.

It is seldom wise to take an interpretive fact, as disclosed by one of the chroniclers, at its face value. When we are told, for instance, that the Spaniards lost a given battle because the Indians outnumbered them it is entirely unlikely that the chronicler is telling us the whole truth. We have every reason to doubt him because we already know that the Spaniards, with or without Indian allies, had an enormous talent for winning military victories with inferior numbers. At no time was it normal for Spanish forces to outnumber the enemy anywhere in the Indies. Why, then, did the Indians win not only the battle in question, but a majority of their engagements? The suggestions are several: perhaps the Indians, in their own right, had become superior strategists; perhaps they had improved their own weapons to a point which offset the Spanish advantages of gunpowder and horse; perhaps they had developed a creed for life which made resistance both possible and meaningful. Our questioning of an apparently reliable fact leads us to recognition of a neglected factor, the potentiality of early Araucanian culture. By following these suggestions through and corroborating them with associated evidence, we may well come to an understanding of that particular battle which is far superior to that entertained by the chronicler. More importantly, when the battle is multiplied by 1000 and the conditions of Spanish defeat remain relatively constant, significant conclusions concerning Araucanian culture are inescapable.

By the passing of the first generation of Conquistadores the war had become institutionalized, and observers began to think and write about it historically. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries several histories of Chile and its Araucanian War were written which contained a relative abundance of passages describing Indian life. These writers, like their predecessors in the sixteenth century, did not take into account the factor of cultural change, and their judgments were almost entirely based upon the present in which they observed and wrote. Nor did they, with few exceptions, have the opportunity of consulting the major chronicles of the sixteenth century. Most of those manuscripts were sent to Spain for publication, but a good many of them were intentionally or innocently shuttled off to a dark repository to await the dawn of modern historiography on Chilean historians.

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There are thus three categories of documentary materials from which to draw an image of Araucanian culture: the chronicles of first contact; the chronicles and documents of the first century of conquest; and the histories of the later colonial period. In past reconstructions scholars have tended to assign cultural forms found in later and better documented periods to earlier periods wherein documentation is not generously provided. With disregard for the depth of time, elements have been taken from documentary sources of the entire colonial period and placed side by side in a synchronic mosaic. At best this type of reconstruction is an abstraction of culture, and, like any abstraction, it is essentially unreal. Nowhere does it give a hint of the potentiality of Araucanian culture: on the contrary, such description lends itself to demonstration of a culture which, by the lessons of historical anthropology, should never have survived the first Spanish onslaught. Such reconstruction follows from a basic assumption of cultural constancy. In some phases of material culture this technique is doubtless warranted and valid, especially in the presence of sufficient archaeological documentation. However this may be, the idea of constancy stands in opposition to the idea of change, and from what can be made of the documents, the strength with which the Araucanians resisted Spanish domination was derived not from a constancy of their cultural forms, but from the ability to change them. It seems valid, therefore, to view the sources of the later colonial period as indication of what Araucanian culture *became* under the stress of the long Spanish war rather than as evidence of what it was before the conquest.

The chronicles of the first century of conflict, when viewed from this position and subjected to critical analysis, provide considerable insight into the design of cultural transformation and suggest a functional hypothesis underlying cultural change. The term culture in the present case does not refer to fine art and letters and the numerous connotations usually associated with the term. Such development was not a concomitant of war, nor, it seems clear, did the Araucanians tend in the direction of refined sensibility. Araucanian cultural development occurred only in those arts which had a survival value, and was canalized by the hostile forces which threatened the total culture. Spanish pressure was exerted in three areas — military, political, and religious. The Araucanians, under the stimulus of this external pressure, turned inward upon themselves and developed their own corresponding forms to a point of equal resistive strength. The Spanish challenge in terms of relative force of impact was first military, secondly political, and lastly religious. Araucanian reaction and response to the challenge followed the same gradient.

The founding of Concepción by Valdivia in 1550 marked the real beginning of Araucanian resistance. Located just across the Biobío, out of Araucanian territory proper, it served as a strategic base of operations and a key position of

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themselves outmanned and outmaneuvered, and so were frequently forced to flee for their lives, leaving baggage trains in the hands of the enemy.[20]

It was military planning of this kind that led to the capture and death of Valdivia. Historians generally recognize the death trap into which he fell as the handiwork of Lautaro, the most famous ex-groom in all history. Lautaro has since become one of Chile's great national heroes, symbolizing all that was best in Araucanian culture. Be that as it may, there is considerable reason to believe that Lautaro hailed from the vicinity of Santiago, and was therefore an Araucanian by nothing more than association.[21] His relations with the Araucanians are not clear historically beyond the fact that he led their resistance, aided by other chiefs, until his death in 1557. He was extremely well versed in military strategy, and his deployment of squadrons in place of mass attack and the use of encirclement were valued contributions to Araucanian knowledge, but the fact that many other military techniques were developed after he had passed from the scene would indicate that there were countless Araucanians of equal ability.

Generally speaking, the Araucanians retained their own weapons in the war against the Spanish. Bows and arrows, long lances, spears, long clubs with weighted heads, and slings were the weapons most often used.[22] Strategy was much more

20 For typical accounts see Marmolejo, pp. 356., 85, 101, 171-176, 186-187. In the matter of Indian strategy and resistance the Spaniards could not see the forest for the trees. They laid responsibility for their failures on everything but the Indians. A widely prevalent idea, as expressed by Martín Ruiz de Gamboa (Gay, II, p. 123), held that more polished peninsular gentlemen were needed to fight the Indians, ignorant creoles being unfit for the task. Discrimination against creoles was a constant source of dissension in Spanish ranks. In 1557, García Hurtado de Mendoza arrived in Chile as Governor with many peninsulares in his train. The abandon with which he handed out encomiendas to his peninsular friends enraged the luckless creoles. In his reply to their complaints he suggested that no more than a handful of the Chileans knew the *identity of their fathers, and then insultingly inquired, "En qué se andan aquí estos hijos de putas?"* (Marmolejo, p. 80). Nájera (pp. 36-37) took a more realistic view. He stated that creoles were born in war and carried the brunt of the fighting, and did it well. Because the chroniclers ignored their deeds, he added, they were unappreciated in Spain. He considered the disparity between creole and peninsular to be utterly inane.

21 Marmolejo simply states that among those who planned Valdivia's downfall was a young creole named Alonso, who had been Valdivia's servant (p. 36). This brief notice is the only valid evidence of Lautaro's origin. Among the chroniclers in Chile the term yanacona invariably means a friendly and allied Indian from the north. Chilean historians are prone to begin with the premise that he was an Araucanian, but have difficulty in explaining how he could have become so *españolado* in the brief period between Valdivia's first contact with the Araucanians and his death. It seems much more likely that Lautaro was taken by Valdivia in Santiago when he was a boy. See Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, *Lautaro* (Santiago, 1878) for the standard nationalistic version.

22 Olaverría, pp. 33-34; Nájera, pp. 95-98. For a plausible account of Araucanian reaction to the Spanish danger after 1550 see Ricardo Latcham, "La especidad guerrera de los Araucanos: sus armas y métodos militares" (*Revista Chilena de Historia y Geografía*, vol. 13, no. 19, 1915, pp. 122-199). While this study is valuable for purely military affairs, it does not attempt to

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

important than weapons. As noted above, the Indians never fought in a place that was not of their own choosing if they could avoid it. The horse was their greatest problem and one around which their strategy revolved. They chose battle sites wherein the horse would be difficult to manage; they made use of snares on long poles with which to pull the rider from his horse; they dug pitfalls and trenches, placing sharp stakes upon which rider and mount would be impaled; in all of this their chief aim was to get the Spaniard off his mount.[22]

Through the spoils of war and peacetime thievery the Indians acquired a vast supply of horses. By 1594 it was not uncommon for them to put several hundred horsemen in the field. It is to be noted, however, that they used the horse as an auxiliary rather than as an instrument of war. Riding as far as thirty miles a night they raided settlements and ranches under the cover of darkness, leaving death and destruction in their wake.[23] But acquisition of this new mobility did not alter their basic strategy for fighting Spanish forces. Throughout the sixteenth century they continued to lure Spanish troops into carefully prepared ambuscades, themselves remaining on foot. To have done otherwise would have undone their whole strategy. As the Spanish horsemen approached the main Indian force, their lines of retreat were closed by concentric rings of warriors. If the Spanish were fortunate enough to defeat the enemy they found no difficulty in retracing their steps. If, on the other hand, the Indians proved too strong for them, they could retreat only with great difficulty. Once having forced the Spaniards into retreat, the Indians followed them on foot. When the horses tired sufficiently, their riders could be struck down. A Spanish horseman afoot, because of the weight and bulk

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explain or interpret the force behind Araucanian military organization beyond the factor of Indian bravery. Another weakness in the author's uncritical use of Pedro Mariño de Lovera's *Crónica del reino de Chile* (CHC, vol. 6). Lovera was another soldier who came to Chile in 1551, served there for a number of years, and then retired to Lima to write a history of Chile. Undoubtedly because it was not well written, the manuscript was turned over to a Jesuit, Bartolomé de Escobar for rewriting. As a true courtier, he did not emphasize or flatter his patron, García Hurtado de Mendoza, and otherwise took liberties which rendered the history worthless. After his revisions it was probably revised by Hurtado himself. A copy was subsequently disseminated in Spain by Hurtado in quest for royal reward for services rendered. In like vein, Hurtado was fond of publication of Ercilla's *La Araucana*, which he felt slighted his person. In retaliation he commissioned Pedro de Oña to write his dull *Arauco Domado*, an epic in which Hurtado emerged as the conqueror of Arauco. As Nájera remarked, Oña merely made himself a fool in describing Arauco as subdued when in fact Arauco was more victorious and impregnable than ever before (pp. 36-37). See Diego Barros Arana, *Historia general de Chile* (16 vols., Santiago, 1884-1902, vol. 2, pp. 392-398).

23 Mariñoschio, pp. 44-49, 81, 62-63. John M. Cooper, "The Araucanians" (*Handbook of South American Indians*, Julian H. Steward, ed., Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 143, vol. 2, p. 697, 1946) is in error when he concludes that the Indians mastered European military tactics and strategy, making them their own.

24 Ghersetti, p. 34.

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rather than central, and coöperation was most often found in the realm of diplomacy.

With the turn of the century a more precise political and military division was created by the Araucanians. The region between the Biobío and Tolten Rivers was divided into three longitudinal strips called *butanmapos*; they were the sub-Andean range, the central valley, and the coastal strip (including the estado). Each butanmapo had clearly defined limits and jurisdictions; each had, at least in time of war, a principal chief, or *toqui*. It was customary for the chiefs to debate plans for war in a parliamentary junta in which the three territories were represented. Strategy was agreed upon by common consent.[40] The relationship between the local chiefs and territorial toquis is not clear, but it seems likely that military power was held to both qualify status and to assure authority. When disagreement occurred between toquis, war between territories could and did sometimes develop.[41]

Gerónimo Pietas, writing around 1729, describes a further development of this general schema. At this time the territorial strips had been increased to four in number. These provinces were still called butanmapos, but they extended farther north and south than did the older territories. This extension of Araucanía is mute testimony to the growth of Araucanian strength and confidence. In Pietas' description each butanmapo had a hierarchy of three superior chiefs: a *toqui-guilmen* (commander), a *guince-guilmen* (field commander), and a *peiqui-guilmen* (diplomatic courier). While these officers assumed absolute authority in their positions within the province, they were inferior to a *toqui-general* who apparently wielded a measure of authority over the whole of Araucanía. He further describes a conventionalization of diplomacy involving three forms for the calling of war. A general war could be called for only by the toqui-general, and at his own discretion. When he desired to begin hostilities word was passed to all chiefs through a group of sub-chiefs called *cones*. Only the toqui-general could dispatch the cones, and in the event of hostilities between the provinces, the fact of being called to council by a con was a guarantee of safe conduct. All chiefs attended the councils, wherein strategy was planned and forces drawn up.

War could also be called for by a regional toqui. As messenger he sent his peiqui-guilmen to the other butanmapos, asking their aid and support, which they might or might not give. In the third instance war could be initiated by simply attacking the Spaniards. In this event the warring chieftain used force

40 Barañao, pp. 39-41. Latcham (*La prehistoria chilena*, pp. 153-154) considers this to be an ancient Mapuche military organization, even though it is first reported about a century after the Spaniards arrived. From what we know of the modern Mapuche, this would appear to be an unlikely sophisticated organization.

41 *Idem*, pp. 94-99, 144-148; "Relación de Luis de Valdivia," 1611 (Gay, II, pp. 331-332).

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form of thanksgiving to the Pillán for victory. This ceremony closely approaches the abstraction of Home, Country, and God.

Later in his captivity Baeza had occasion to spend several days in the company of one of the small sons of a chief. One afternoon he asked the child if he would like to learn how to pray. The boy answered affirmatively; he had already learned something of prayers from a Spanish captive. With little instruction the child recited the Pater Noster in Spanish, but without understanding what it was he was reciting. Baeza, speaking Araucanian fluently, decided to teach him in the Araucanian tongue. The child was delighted to understand the recitation. The translator Baeza then asked him if he understood the idea behind the prayer. Yes indeed, was the reply. God could be none other than a great Pillán, superior to other Pillánes.[46] Baeza has registered unfeigned delight. The question is, should he have been so delighted?

In order to maintain a spirit of unqualified eminence the leaders of the crusade, who manipulated majority opinion, instituted indoctrinational forms for boys and youths. Beginning at six years of age boys were taught the use of military weapons. By observing him the boy's tutors would decide which weapon he was most proficient with, and then he would be trained as a specialist in the use of that weapon. At the same time he was arduously trained in running and swimming.[47] Another type of training began at this early age was the torture of Spanish captives. The boys were given knives and living Spaniards, then instructed in the arts of slow dissection, roasting, and eating.[48] They were further required to memorize certain verses which recounted Spanish offenses since the beginning of the war, and were made to recite them at the command of their elders. In this way a boy became a man with a clearly fixed purpose in life. As a youth the Araucanian would speak thus of his lance:

> This is my master: it does not order me to dig for gold, or carry load or firewood, nor to hard work, or to follow in chains. And since this master contains my liberty, it is with him that I wish to pass.[49]

There was seldom talk of peace in the crusade. Even a chief, if he dared speak

of the crusade, and likewise the use of a famous warrior. When the other chiefs learned of Baeza's identity they demanded his head as one all's trophy to inspire powerful Indians to war. By diplomacy and even Machiavellian cunning, and after many months of considerable captivity Baeza returned him to his own people. His account of the adventure is invaluable, although it is sometimes difficult to read. He was a gentle and educated man in Chile. He apparently felt compelled to show that a crude scholar could hold his own with a pretentious, learned his encomia quotations from and references to classical authors.

46 Baeza, pp. 139-134. Also see Córdoba y Figueroa, *Historia de Chile* (CHC, vol. I, p. 241).

47 Olivares, p. 33.

48 Núñez, p. 60. 49 Ibid., pp. 61, 105.

Araucanian Patri-Organization and the Omaha System

LOUIS C. FARON
University of Illinois

THE thesis of this paper is that Araucanian society has been patrilineally organized since the time of the Conquest, but that the appearance of the Omaha system is a very recent development and not fully representative of Araucanian society. It is concerned, therefore, with the development of Araucanian social organization under four sections: (1) brief review of two basic assumptions about the development of Araucanian kinship and social organization; (2) examination of historic kinship terminology and other data on social organization, in connection with these assumptions; (3) presentation of data obtained in the field in 1953, and other recent material on Araucanian kinship and social organization; and (4) an interpretation of the development of Araucanian social organization on the basis of historical material and the present pattern of distribution.

For almost three centuries the Araucanian Indians of Chile withstood the large-scale colonization of their native habitat, Araucanía. These so-called "fighting Araucanians" came to be known by the generic term "Mapuche" which means, in their language, "people of the land."

During the period of Spanish colonization the Mapuche lived between the Bío-Bío River and an ill-defined boundary north of the town of Valdivia, in a rather thickly forested area which lies between the Andes and the Pacific. North of the Bío-Bío River lived the Picunche Indians, who were closely related to the Mapuche and were part of the overall Araucanian group. From the environs of Valdivia south to the Island of Chiloé, the more open country was inhabited by the Huilliche Araucanians or "people of the south." These cultural subgroups shared a common language, Araucanian, the regional dialects of which were mutually intelligible.

Today only the Mapuche remain as a large, easily definable ethnic group in southern Middle Chile. The Picunche were rapidly acculturated during the early colonial period. The Huilliche, for the most part, have been absorbed into the mestizo population between the southern limits of Araucanía and the Island of Chiloé.

Perhaps the most ambitious thesis dealing with the evolution of Araucanian society was presented by Ricardo E. Latcham (1924), who drew heavily on colonial documents for supplementation to field work he conducted among the Mapuche in Cautín Province, the heart of Araucanía. The premises upon which Latcham based his fundamental arguments in favor of matrilineal organization do not bear close scrutiny. Nevertheless, he stands out with Guevara (1908) as one of the most ambitious students of Araucanian culture who wrote in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Araucanian ethnographers have recently shown interest in exploring kinsh-

8: Faron E-1 (1953) 1956 SO4 Araucanians SO4

● 119 teal material for the reconstruction of Araucanian social organization. However, it is generally agreed that the data do not afford a very clear picture of earlier Araucanian social forms or their development, the primary subject of this paper.

Soon after Murdock voiced wonder at the apparent absence of the Omaha kinship system in South America, Bullowell had the opportunity to interview a Mapuche Indian, Martín Colín, and tentatively concluded that the

Map of Southern Middle Chile.

8: Farm E-8 (1953) 1954 SC4 Araucanians SC4

present-day Araucanians had the Omaha system of reckoning kin. He suggested there was "some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced," although results in this direction had been "somewhat discouraging" (Hallowell 1943:899-901).

In 1948 Titiev did a field study of a few Mapuche groups living on reservations near the small town of Chol-Chol, in Cautín Province (1951). He remarked that Latcham's work in the same area some fifty years before would serve as a base line for his own study in the dynamics of culture change. Titiev carefully delimited his area and indicated that the results of his field work applied only to the Indians in the region around Chol-Chol (1951:2). Few other geographico-cultural qualifications of this sort may be found in the literature dealing with the Araucanians, except for a rather vague recognition of the greater divisions mentioned above: Picunche, Mapuche, Huilliche. It seems, however, that Titiev exceeded his self-imposed limits when he offered an evolutionary hypothesis stated in terms general enough to include all of Mapuche society (1951:69ff.). At any rate, the impression lingers that there has been a good deal of regional uniformity, at given periods in history, in Araucanian kinship structure as well as in the broader aspects of social organization, and that this is true today.

The vagueness and insufficiency of the data in the chronicles frequently render it impossible to be definitive concerning historical social forms. There is so little direct information about the kinship terminology and behavior of the Picunche and Huilliche that all searching analyses of Araucanian kinship must, perforce, deal with the Mapuche. Latcham, who certainly did most to show regional divisions among the Araucanians, conveniently ignored regional bounds in documenting his thesis of matrilineal organization. Furthermore, local variation within the Mapuche area has been largely glossed over, in part from lack of field work among the Mapuche, although evidence of such variation is not entirely wanting in the historical material.

TWO BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

The following two assumptions regarding the evolution of Araucanian society, which appear both in the historic literature and recent field reports on the Mapuche (cf. Cooper 1946:724; Titiev 1951:51 et passim), are here questioned:

(1) That Araucanian society was matrilineally organized at the time of the Spanish invasion of Chile, and that aspects of matrilineality survived into the eighteenth century.

(2) That there has been considerable change in Araucanian kinship since the early 1600's, and that the latter-day patrilineal organization is reflected in the Omaha system (as reported by Hallowell and Titiev).

Latcham's thesis is perhaps the best documented theory of the development of Araucanian social organization. It is subscribed to in part by Titiev (1951:51), but is not in accord with the theories of other serious students of Araucanian culture, notably Luis de Valdivia (1606), Febres (1765), Nieve-

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

121 stadt (1777), Félix José de Augusta (1907, 1916), Guevara Silva (1908, 1913, 1929), and Moesbach (1936). Latcham's thesis of the matrilineal origins of ●114 Araucanian society was partly an attempt to refute the theory of aboriginal 611 promiscuity which apparently was then in vogue in Chile, a point that makes the crusading flavor of his book more easily understood.

Titiev notes that there is the "likelihood that early historic Mapuche society had a matrilineal bias" (1951:51), and incorporates this idea into his own reconstruction of Araucanian social evolution. This is our main reason for touching upon Latcham's matrilineal hypothesis in this paper.

Two pieces of evidence fundamental to Latcham's argument for the priority of matrilineal organization are based on the transfer of property to women. Drawing from an early source, Latcham stated (a) that an Indian woman in Copiapó Valley, in the extreme northern part of Picunche territory, inherited a large expanse of land and that in this region, although husbands managed such wealth, ownership was in the hands of their wives (1924:86). This is the only reference to aboriginal matrilineal inheritance in the literature of the period known to the writer, although it is cited several times. In a related attempt to establish matrilineal succession, Latcham cited (b) the inheritance of a large tract of land south of Santiago by the mestiza offspring of the marriage of a Spanish conquistador and a Picunche woman (1924:87).

Such data are inconclusive and Latcham's acceptance of them uncritical. The situations described seem to be exceptions to aboriginal practice, as they are almost surely structural adjustments, respectively, to Inca and Spanish acculturative influences.

Although Latcham's reasoning is more refined in his examination of *kuga* (an ill-defined kinship unit), here too his arguments lack conviction when used to bolster the theory that material wealth and prerogatives passed in the female line. Some of his most important arguments seem to rest on manipulation of linguistic elements and the constant iteration of the precept that totemism and matrilineal organization are somehow inextricably bound together in the foetal stage of society in general (see Cooper 1946:722–23 for discussion of *kuga* and citation of sources). He promulgated this view even though he wrote that "all the chroniclers are in agreement that sons inherited material wealth and titles from their fathers since before the conquest" (1924:57).

121 The second basic assumption mentioned above is that there have been con-
114 siderable changes in Araucanian kinship nomenclature since Luis de Valdivia's
601 time (1606), and that these changes are difficult to interpret (cf. Titiev 1951: 3–4). Cooper wrote that "The kinship terminology of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* is extremely complex" (1946:724), a statement which possibly alludes more to the historical complexities involving change than to the recently recorded Omaha terminology. A further contention, hinging on the matter of change in social organization, is that the strong latter-day patrilineality among the Mapuche receives general expression in the Omaha pattern. This is at least tacitly accepted by Hallowell (1943), Titiev (1951), Cooper (1946), and Murdock (1949), with no specific mention of the possible regional variations in reckoning kinship relations within Araucanía today.

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Actually, an examination of the historical kinship terminologies reveals a good deal of consistency in the kinds of changes which have occurred, insofar as they indicate a trend toward stronger patrilineality. It is possible, furthermore, to show that some of the changes have been effected by the successful competition of one of two or more terms present in the earliest lists. Some of these "survivors," as well as other terms, appear today as apocopations of circumlocutory expressions used earlier (and occasionally used today). The fact that they are used today when greater precision is desired indicates that they may have been used in the past (and so recorded) in order to convey "exact" information to the early students of Araucanian language and culture. Their "disappearance," therefore, does not necessarily reflect change.

There is no doubt that the Omaha pattern of kinship nomenclature exists in a full-blown form around Cholchol, where Hallowell's informant came from and where Titiev (1951:49ff.) worked. However, the areal distribution of this pattern seems to be confined to the northwest sector of Araucanía (see below p. 447), where Omaha terminology appears as a rather late development (not recorded in kinship lists collected as late as the first decades of the twentieth century).

One finds significant differences between the terminologies of Titiev and Hallowell on the one hand, and Latcham and his contemporaries on the other. However, in 1953 the writer collected kinship data which are in some ways intermediate. These findings raise questions in regard to both the historical development of Araucanian social organization and the representativeness of the Omaha system among the Mapuche of the recent past and present day.

THE HISTORICAL MATERIAL

The lists appearing in this section are diagrammed on the basis of historical terminologies taken from lexicons and other works about the Mapuche. Diagram 1 is composed of terms collected by Valdivia (1606), and may be taken as representative of the terminology in use during at least the latter part of the sixteenth century; Diagram 2 is a composite of terms recorded by Febrés (1765) and Havestadt (1777) in the eighteenth century; Diagram 3 is made up of three lists (see p. 442) compiled in the early part of the twentieth century.

Taken together, all three diagrams, along with the relevant descriptive data, serve to show that:

(1) Certain features associated with patrilineal organization and important in the development of the Omaha pattern (e.g. polygyny; disregard of generation seen in cross-generational marriage and in the inheritance of the avuncular role) have roots in the beginnings of recorded Araucanian history.

(2) A trend toward a fully developed Omaha system seems to have been arrested in most of Araucanía—perhaps because of some of the very pressures often cited to explain emergence of stronger patrilineal organization (e.g., warfare and enhancement of the male role in regard to warfare; group solidarity in time of hostilities).

Although many terms are missing in the earliest kinship lists, parallel- and cross-cousins are recorded, the consanguineal relatives of the parental genera-

174 601 The following are examples of historical constancy. The terms for son and daughter and for SiCh have remained the same throughout recorded Araucanian history; it is suggested that BrCh, *peñi fotum* and *peñi ñawe*, are shortened circumlocutory phrases (e.g., *ñi peñi ñi fotum:* the son of my brother, etc.). These expressions are used today for greater clarity in describing the degree of relationship and through whom the relationship is figured. The use of *malle fotum* appears to have been a variant which endured in that form or was further shortened to *malle*, one of several reciprocal terms used in a classificatory manner. (Note the combination of *malle* with "father" on the parental generation.)

174 601 611 114 Although the early lexicographers did not give full attention to female-speaking terms, a few have been recorded. The most controversial of these, in view of the interpretation Latcham placed on it, is the single term *lame*, used between certain females for whom he assumed a matrilineal relationship. He believed it indicated that matrilineal clans existed. Both Valdivia and Havestadt noted that a woman called her sister *lame* and, though not precisely stated, certainly implied that all female "cousins" were also called by this term. This usage extended the term to kin whose relationship was figured through the FaBr and the FaSi as well as through maternal relatives. Furthermore, half-sisters were also called *lame* when related only through the father. This weakens Latcham's implications for matrilineal totemic clans.[6]

174 591 601 It was stated above that while no rule of descent is apparent in the first diagram, some indication of residence is suggested. In the use of a mother term for FaSi (Valdivia) we have a possible clue to the rule of residence in existence prior to 1600. It suggests that FaSi played a socio-psychological role by which she could be identified with Ego's mother. Therefore, she presumably had frequent and intimate contact with Ego and his household. This could have occurred if the pre-Spanish settlements were multilineage and endogamous. There is some indirect evidence to support this hypothesis, for it seems that several lineages lived in close juxtaposition on the riverine lands which they farmed (Molina 1808:18, 54; Pedro de Valdivia 1896:453–54). There is no [476] doubt that these farming groups co-operated in the building of irrigation ditches and houses, and that they engaged in other communal undertakings (Pulgar 1902:58). The frequent mention of "incest" found in the chronicles may refer to the inbreeding resulting from settlement endogamy in which sexual relations with "close" relatives were predominant.

174 601 604 The physical proximity of intermarrying lineages would certainly tie in with the avuncular relationship between Ego and the maternal uncle, though this is not dependent upon such spatial arrangements. But the absence of this proximity during the Araucanian wars seems to have fostered exogamy and deterred the development of an avunculate in which the role of the maternal uncle passed across the generations to his son and grandson. When later the reservation system stabilised residential groups, the deterrent factors diminished or disappeared, a solidarity incongruent with generations of hostility was instituted, and the Omaha pattern (as found in the Cholchol region) came into being.

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Latcham may have been unduly influenced by a "pseudo-matriliny," which derives from short-term matrilocality. Evidence for this was found in 1953 near Toltén, and its occurrence in the past is attested to in oral tradition.

Around the time of the reprisals following the rebellion of 1880–82, which seem to have been greater near Nueva Imperial than in the Toltén region, many Mapuche migrated southward, their departure generally entailing forfeiture of land rights. Thus landless, they settled and married in the Toltén region, living on the land of their fathers-in-law. According to Chilean law and Mapuche custom at the time of the reservation program, these married-in males had little or no legal claim to land in the new area. Today some of these in-marrying males who are still alive, and others who have migrated more recently, remark that they have only de facto control over their wife's land. They state, however, that their sons will inherit from them, and it is clear from family histories that in a generation or two this anomaly is eradicated and patrilineality prevails. Given the historical descriptions of Spanish-Araucanian warfare, this occurrence of temporary matrilocality may have taken place repeatedly.

In his discussion of Araucanian social organization, Titiev wrote that "the central features of Mapuche nomenclature are geared to the marriage practices" and that "greatest importance must be attributed to unilateral cross-cousin marriage" (1951:38). The marriage practices are indeed reflected in the kinship terminology, but one cannot agree that unilateral cross-cousin marriage is so revealed. Actually, marriage with MoBrDa is not indicated in the nomenclature. MoBrDa is terminologically identified with women on the parental generation and her children are often called "brother" and "sister" by Ego. What is therefore indicated is the "disputed" practice of marriage with WiBrDa (Titiev 1951:49; Hallowell 1943:490). Cross-cousin marriage attained dominance at a time when the cross-generational type was passing from the scene, along with the lagging of polygyny and leviratic obligations. That the terminology has not reflected the dominance of MoBrDa marriage is an indication of its generally late appearance as a preferential type.

According to Titiev (1951:49), Hallowell's recording of the "disputed" WiBrDa marriage hinges on an error in translation in which there was a failure to distinguish between WiBrDa and MoBrDa. As a rule, the wife term is not *ñuke* (as recorded by Titiev) but *ñuke* or *ñeme*, and from *ñuke* is derived the WiSi and WiBrDa term, *ñuke*. If *ñuke* is used at all in reference to the wife it is in the combined form *ñuke ñuke*, a more descriptive term designating MoBrDa only after marriage. The writer never heard *ñuke* used for wife, and only obtained the information about *ñuke ñuke* after considerable probing. At any rate, it seems to exist only as a possible linguistic construction rather than as a term in even limited use. It does not appear in any of the historical sources used by the writer. Actually, there is little room for error in this matter of terminology. Hallowell got to the core of the situation in his discussion of marriage between Ego and *ñuke* (WiSi and/or WiBrDa) (1943:491).

The study of Anselmo Ragulso (1953) should be mentioned because of the gross inaccuracy of his sketch map, which presents a distorted picture of

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

the distribution of Omaha terminology in Araucanía. It shows three widely separated groups in Cautín Province having Omaha terminology, whereas two of the groups are in the avowedly Omaha area centering around Cholchol, and the third group is undoubtedly an offshoot from this nucleus that migrated to the Andean foothills. Thus the three groups are an expression of a single occurrence.

The present non-Omaha pattern prevalent in Araucanía raises questions about the evolution of Araucanian social organization. Is the non-Omaha pattern a development toward a full Omaha type, as found in the Cholchol region, or is it a change away from a once greater-extended Omaha pattern? The latter possibility is unlikely since the nomenclature collected in 1953 has great similarity with that of the early twentieth century. Therefore, as was suggested at the beginning of this paper, the present-day Omaha pattern is believed to represent an intermediate form. The development of stronger patrilineality in most of Araucanía seems to have been cut off, although there was a florescence of patrilineality in the recent past in the Cholchol region.

It is likely that further change in the terminology will result from the direct substitution of a Spanish word for an Araucanian. This trend is already noticeable in certain parts of Araucanía. It is unlikely that Mapuche terms will be changed in order to bring their meanings more in line with Chilean kinship usage (e.g. substituting a "cousin" term for MoBrDa). Direct substitution will probably spread with the increased use of the Spanish language and the dissemination of Chilean culture.

SUMMARY AND INTERPRETATION: THE DEVELOPMENT OF PATRI-ORGANIZATION

When the Spaniards first entered Chile, the Araucanian Indians lived in multilineage farming settlements. Descent was in the male line. Residence may have been either patrilocal or bilocal but, as the settlements were endogamous, postmarital residence did not entail the woman's leaving her natal community.

Economic exploitation and warfare fostered the break-up of these settlements into the several lineages of which they were composed. In some cases there was complete dissolution of the settlements and disappearance of whole kin groups because of wholesale death, long enforced absences of adult males and females, and numerous wanderings and distant migrations.

Although certain factors tended to enhance the status of males, discordant influences counterweighted them and tended to thwart the strengthening of patri-organization. Instability resulted at the lineage level, even though overall politico-military arrangements grew in complexity and seemed to solidify.

The break-up of multilineage groups under the pressure of warfare eventually led to the emergence of stricter patrilocal residence rules and settlement exogamy. The practice of bride purchase apparently continued unaltered with the change from endogamy to exogamy, but WiBrDa marriage and sororal polygyny seem to have taken on a new importance due to the moral obligations surrounding the levirate.

At the same time, it is possible to point to circumstances in which "peru-

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ARAUCANIAN PARALLELS TO THE OMAHA KINSHIP PATTERN

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(*Introductory note:* At the Poughkeepsie meetings of the American Anthropological Association in 1929 I presented the following paper. I never published it, mainly because I obtained the information from a single informant and hoped that I might later substantiate and elaborate my original notes. Such an opportunity never arose. But during the subsequent years no one else, so far as I can discover has reported the occurrence of the Omaha kinship structure among the Araucanians.[1] However, now, when attention is being increasingly focused upon all things South American, it seems worth while to place my information on record. The immediate stimulus to publication came from Dr. Murdock who, in a discussion following a lecture he gave before the Philadelphia Anthropological Society in December, 1942, remarked that in his survey of social organizations and kinship patterns throughout the world, he was struck by the absence of the Omaha pattern in South America, although he suspected its presence among the Araucanians. Its absence in South America seemed significant because of its presence in the other four major areas of the world from which he selected his sample. I hope that the publication of the following paper, even at this late date, may ultimately lead to a final settlement of the question.)

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In the current number of the AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST, Dr. Lesser has brought a very important problem to a focus.[2] He demonstrates the fairly consistent association

[1] See Donald D. Brand, *A Brief History of Araucanian Studies* (New Mexican Anthropologist, V, 1941), pp. 2, 19–52.

[2] A. Lesser, *Kinship Origins in the Light of some Distributions* (AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST), 31, 1929), pp. 710–730.

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114 of kinship systems of the Omaha and Crow types, with specific social traits. With some exceptions, marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, patrilocal residence after marriage, patrilineal descent and exogamic organization, are coincidental with the Omaha pattern. From the geographical standpoint, these associated features occur in two centers in North America: in certain parts of California, on the one hand, and among certain tribes of the plains and Eastern Woodlands, on the other. An extra-American center is East Africa. Since, at present, there seems to be no reason for assuming historical contacts between these three centers, Dr. Lesser concludes that we have a case of "repeated independent origins," diffusion within limited areas and a probable functional correlation between the kinship type and social traits.

I wish to lend support to Dr. Lesser's conclusions by calling attention to a fourth region, where a similar association of the Omaha pattern with the social features referred to, appears to occur.

115 Some years ago (1922) I obtained a set of kinship terms from Mr. J. Martin Collio Huaquillof, an Araucanian Indian who was then staying in Philadelphia. At the time I was not familiar with the Omaha pattern but was greatly impressed with the close correlation of the use of terms and the marriage customs which he described. Later I read Gifford's account of the Miwok[3] and became cognizant of the occurrence of the same correlated features elsewhere. Since my data were based on information obtained from a single informant, however, I hesitated to publish it, particularly as a superficial review of the literature dealing with the Araucanians failed to yield information which elucidated or confirmed the sociological side of the problem. But as I now see it, it seems extremely unlikely that my informant could have fabricated the Omaha system as well as its associated customs. He was particularly clear in respect to the customs of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter, although I have not been able to find any published reference to this type of preferential mating. He was also positive in respect to the customs of patrilocal residence, patrilineal inheritance and succession, and a very close association between the father's sister and her cross nieces and nephews. But I could elicit nothing from him which suggested the presence of exogamous father sibs.

[582] [591] [604]

114 Since obtaining the data from Collio, I have been checking the kinship vocabulary I secured from him with all the published vocabularies from Valdivia (1606) down to the present, in order to see whether it is possible to establish the occurrence of the Omaha pattern in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The results so far have been somewhat discouraging since the elucidation of the use of terms in the older records is not altogether satisfactory and there is some negative evidence. On the other hand, there may have been changes in the kinship system and in social organization during the historic period. This possibility must be considered especially since Latcham,[4] the foremost student of Araucanian history and ethnology, has attempted to demonstrate the occurrence of a totemic sib organization with matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence for the old Araucanians. A systematic investigation of the contemporary social organi-

[3] E. W. Gifford, *California Kinship Terminologies* (University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, No. 18), pp. 1–285, with 29 maps, 1922.

[4] R. E. Latcham, *Ethnology of the Araucanians* (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, XXXIX, 1909), pp. 334–370, and *La organizacion social y las creencias religiosas de los antiguos araucanos* (1924).

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114 [611] [587] zation of the Araucanians might help to solve this problem and Dr. S. K. Lothrop, who is now in Chile, may obtain data on some of the disputed points. That certain patrilineal traits, at least, have been present in the historic period there is little doubt. Even Latcham admits this. One of these is patrilineal inheritance which bears directly on the problem under discussion. In relation to marriage it operates through the levirate and by the inheritance, by sons, of their father's wives. Collio, moreover, informed me that cross-cousin marriage was practiced. Now Gifford showed that, in the case of the Miwok, the transfer by a man to his sons of the privilege of marriage with the wife's brother's daughter probably led to cross-cousin marriage. I suspect that this was likewise happened among the Araucanians and as in the Miwok case it has apparently not affected their kinship terms to any very noticeable degree.

The Araucanians thus offer a fruitful field, not only for the study of the functional correlation of kinship terms and social customs, but one in which there is some possibility that the historical development of these features may be traced.

The significant features of the kinship picture are the following:

601 In ego's generation parallel cousins are classified with siblings. The terms for cross-cousins are highly diagnostic. The children of mother's brother (to both a male and a female) are *wáko* (= mother's brother) and *ñáke* (= referential term for mother, mother's sister, in the latter case usually with the qualifying suffix *-domo*, "woman" or *-ntu*, "almost, close to,"). This "uncleship" descends in the male line to the generation below ego and beyond, and the sisters of *wáko* are always *ñáke*. The children of a *ñáke*, on the other hand, are siblings to ego regardless of biological generation.

On the paternal side in ego's generation the children of father's sister (*pálu*, a reciprocal term) are classified with a man's sisters' children (*tchkam;* no sexual differentiation). To a woman, on the other hand, father's sister's children are classified with own or sister's children (*kotát*). The children of father's sister's children are grandchildren.

Wife's brother's daughter marriage and sororate marriage are reflected by the fact that a reciprocal term *kurún* is used between a man and his wife's brother's daughter, which is also the term used by a man for wife's sister and by a woman for sister's husband. My informant stated that to use this term meant "I am liable to be on your neck" or "enter your arms" at any time. In short, it applies to a potential mateship which correlates with customary practices. The brother of a woman called *kurún* by a man is *kómpu*, so this term applies to wife's brother, wife's brother's son, wife's brother's son's son. It is also the term for man's sister's husband and his *father's sister's husband*, which points to the same functional equivalence of sister and father's sister as does the use of *kurún* for a woman and her brother's daughter. According to Lesser, the functional, if not terminological, identification of a woman, her father's sister and her brother's daughter, is the key to the Omaha type of kinship structure.

A. Irving Hallowell

University of Pennsylvania

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FOREWORD

In this day when the vogue in ethnology is to stress theory and far-reaching comparisons, it is refreshing to find a study that is essentially descriptive. With characteristic energy Sister Inez has gathered a wealth of detailed facts concerning all aspects of child life, biological and sociological, which should serve as a mine of source material for future workers. 114

Essentially she has followed the same methods as used in her two previous monographs on the child life of the Chippewa and the Arapaho, but in this instance she has stressed even more the cultural matrix which to such a large extent has determined the practices connected with the development and socialization of the child.

The approach technically has not been that of the psychologist, but a wealth of psychological material emerges.

The abundance of direct quotes from informants and the frequent recounting of personal experiences give to the narrative an intimacy that not only makes it entertaining reading but imparts a human quality which adds to its value as a sociological and psychological document.

Considering the importance of the Araucanians, there are not too many accounts available in the English language, and no other study concerning child life.

Although acculturated through more than four centuries of contact with European civilization, the Araucanians have retained their identity, their language, and a great deal of their aboriginal culture.

This study of the Araucanians of Chile and Argentina, using the development and training of the child as a method of approach, actually gives an excellent picture of Araucanian ethnology in general as it is today.

M. W. STIRLING
Director, Bureau of American Ethnology
Smithsonian Institution

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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to record the ethnography and, to a certain extent, the present-day ethnology of the Araucanians of Chile and Argentina, particularly their customs, beliefs, and traditions in relation to the development and training of the child. Information regarding the child's familial and communal environment is also included, for it seemed important not to ignore the milieu in which the child grew up.

No monograph of Araucanian child life is now available. The literature, according to the late Father John M. Cooper's word to the writer, contains little related to the child. This statement was corroborated by Carlos O. Henckel, of the Universidad de Concepción in Chile, who also knows the Araucanian literature.

Of published materials Tomas Guevara's work in seven volumes, entitled "Historia de la Civilización de Araucanía" (1898-1913), is the most complete study. Father Cooper's "The Araucanians" in the Handbook of South American Indians (1946, pp. 687-760) is a comprehensive summary, mostly of first-hand material, of all important sources from the sixteenth century to 1946. Mischa Titiev's recent study, "Araucanian Culture in Transition" (1951), is an excellent account of an area which shows the impact of Chilean culture. Studies in progress in 1952, dealing with the Argentine Araucanians, included one on medicinal plants by Nikolau Kolokolof, Ministeria de Agricultura, Buenos Aires; a dictionary by Félix San Martín, and one by Juan Benigar, both Argentines; a comparative study of Araucanian words by Horácio Molinari of Buenos Aires; a recording of music, songs, and conversation by Christian Leden of Norway; and a collection of folklore by Bertha Ilg-Koessler.

In this work, the psychoanalytical approach was not used as the study was an ethnographic one rather than a psychological one. However, certain psychological aspects that did emerge are recorded, and, since ethnography and psychology are interdependent, many more can undoubtedly be deduced by psychologists.

This study was made during the summer months in the Southern Hemisphere. When it is important, because of seasonal events, the date on which information was collected is recorded.

The method used was that generally employed in ethnographic studies, namely, observation and interviewing informants in their

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Because of the absence of native villages, or of any other physical cohesion in the Araucanian country, the term "area" is used to designate groups studied: Alepúe area, Coñaripe area, Panguipulli area, Boroa area. An "area" includes several settlements—a settlement consisting of a group of families formerly under the jurisdiction of a cacique. In Alepúe area, for example, such settlements are known as Chan Chan, Mehuin, Maiquillahue, Pelluco, and Tringle. The areas studied are within the provinces of Cautín and Valdivia, between latitudes 40° S. and a little to the north of 39° S.

The data for Part II were also collected by the writer with the help of Margaret Mondloch as field assistant. We interviewed Araucanians while in residence in their country from November 1951 to February 1952. Our information was obtained primarily in Territory Neuquén where the larger number of Araucanians live. Informants lived in areas known as Quilaquina, Pilpil, Trumpul, Malleo, Collón Curá (San Ignacio), and Lago Lolog. It is probably correct to say that practically all Argentine Araucanians today live between latitude 41° and 36° S. and longitude 73° and 78° W.—a few families live just north of this area, in the Province of Mendoza, and an occasional family to the east and to the south. Territory Neuquén is bounded on the north by the Colorado and Barrancas Rivers; on the west by Chile; on the south by Lake Nahuel Huapi and the Limáy River; on the east by a line drawn due north from the village of Neuquén to the Colorado River. (Cf. fig. 7.)

A phonetic key to the Araucanian language is found in Appendix A. Plants used by Araucanian informants of both Argentina and Chile are found in Appendix B; mammals, birds, fishes, and shellfishes, in Appendix C. Throughout the text, for the sake of economy, the scientific names have been omitted, but the reader can identify the various plants and animals by referring to the appendices.

The bibliography lists sources for both Chilean and Argentine Araucanians. It contains Cooper's sources (1946, vol. 2, p. 699), Brand's bibliography (1941, vol. 5, pp. 20-22, 26-29), and all titles collected by the writer in the libraries of the Universidad Pontificia Bolivariana, Medellín; the Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá; the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Lima; the Biblioteca Nacional de Santiago, Chile; the Museo Nacional de Historia Natural, Santiago, Chile; the Universidad de Concepción, Chile; and the Library of Congress of the United States.

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PART II. THE ARAUCANIANS OF ARGENTINA

INTRODUCTION

114 175 The history of the Argentine Araucanians has not been written, and scattered information in historical literature now available does not seem to be in agreement. Two reliable writers, Cooper and Canals Frau, differ in their summary statements which appear in the Handbook of South American Indians (Bur. Amer. Ethnol. Bull. 143, vol. 2, 1946). Cooper seems inclined to believe that the Argentine Araucanians may have come from Chile. He says: "The survival beyond the 17th century in great numbers of the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, the severe pressure exerted by the Whites on the *Mapuche* and especially on the *Huilliche* in earlier Colonial days, and scattered historical clues on the 17th-century Chilean *Huilliche* and *Pehuenche* raids or intrusions into the Argentine Pampa, all suggest, without however proving, that the bulk of the Argentine *Araucanians* stem from the Chilean *Mapuche* and *Huilliche*, especially the latter" (p. 694). Canals Frau infers from his sources that the Argentine Araucanians are Araucanized Indians whose habitat was the valleys on the eastern slopes of the Cordillera and the plains east of these slopes (pp. 761-766).

173 619 My informants added little to clarify matters. Typical of their varying statements are the following. One old Argentine informant said, "We [Argentine and Chilean Araucanians] belong to the same big family. Formerly the Araucanians that now live in Chile lived here, and we were exactly alike; but now we differ a little: the Chilean Araucanians live as it is best to live in Chile and we live here like the Argentines do. Their language in Chile differs a little from ours, but we can understand them, and they understand us." Another old informant believed, from what he had heard old people say, that the Argentine Araucanians originated in Chile and crossed through the Andean passes into what is now Argentina in order to put up a supply of jerked guanaco, deer, and rhea. Old people had said that when this was done, most of them returned to Chile, but some remained and settled down in what is now Argentina. Quoting another informant: "My great-grandfather was the cacique where Ketchuquina area is today; that was when the great malón took place [General Roca's 1879 campaign]. When the malón was on, he took all his

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Mapuche

change under the influence of early Western mercantilist culture or later industrial culture.

Second, since the processes of change emanate predominantly from the outside, acculturation must be related to the particular aspects of the many-faceted Western civilization which have been factors in change. Thus, the native society may have become bound laborers on colonial plantations or free producers of cash commodities, it may have been left on its land or restricted to reservations, it may have become urbanized as unskilled laborers or skilled artisans, and it may have been subjected to education, religious proselytization, and innumerable other influences.

Third, the salient features of what may be called the context of acculturation must be recognized. These include the potentials of the natural environment for providing subsistence and cash commodities which furnish links with the larger world, access to markets both local and overseas, demography especially in relationship to land resources and to the colonial settlers, racial, cultural, and religious composition of the colony or nation as they induce segregation and fixed status or permit assimilation and social mobility, and any other factors which have a decisive influence on the course and rate of change.

Faron's present monograph, although written against a background of these broader interests, should be viewed as a data paper, a basic analysis of the Araucanian Indians, rather than as a definitive attempt to place the Araucanians in any broad typology or scheme of cross-cultural regularities, even though many regularities are clearly evident. The need for a thorough field study of these Indians arose from the absence of any adequate analysis prior to the year Faron and his wife spent among them during 1952-54. Apart from the Spanish chroniclers, who provided only inadequate bits of information, the principal students of the Araucanians had been interested primarily in reconstructing their aboriginal culture rather than in the contemporary culture, and some sought to place the native society in preconceived theoretical schemes of world culture history. For example, the late Ricardo Latcham, a British engineer turned ethnologist, endeavored to show that these strongly patrilineal people must formerly have been matrilineal since the presuppositions of nineteenth-century evolutionary theory stipulated that this should be so. Later ethnologists, following the interests of the early decades of the present century, endeavored to identify surviving fragments of aboriginal ethnography and tended strongly to see the modern culture as a thin,

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disintegrated agglomeration of shreds and patches left over from earlier days and mixed haphazardly with Spanish features. The concept that such people as the Araucanians exhibit an evolutionary continuity, or series of readaptations despite certain obvious imbalances, since the first Spanish influence, is fairly new in anthropological studies. The means of conceptualizing the factors, processes, and contexts of this evolution is still newer.

Faron's interest is in synchronic structural-functional analysis rather than reconstruction of aboriginal ethnology. Since the aboriginal base line of the Araucanians was not known, however, he spent a year or more prior to his field work sifting early sources describing the Araucanians. From this endeavor he concluded that the pre-Spanish culture can never be known with certainty. There is evidence that the Araucanians were divided into many small and fairly independent local groups, that they were farmers and herdsmen in the fertile valleys of Chile, and that they held family-based ceremonies for fertility and well-being as well as shamanistic rites. The early accounts also disclose military alliances under caciques, or chiefs. Although the continuation of such leadership in the post-Columbia period was surely a function of continued warfare against the Spaniards, the pattern conceivably existed under the Inca invasion.

For purposes of understanding cultural regularities, the little-known aboriginal base line and its transformations under imperial Spain only dimly illuminate cultural process. The Araucanians were one of the most numerous of American Indian groups, being estimated at several hundred thousands, and they were apparently fairly efficient farmers; yet they lacked any strong over-all state, such as that of the central Andes under the Inca. On the other hand, perhaps owing to the very lack of a highly centralized government, some of them offered a resistance to the Spanish Conquest unmatched in South America. Whereas the Inca Empire and the chiefdoms of the northern Andes quickly succumbed to the conquest and the tropical-forest Indians either fled deeper into the jungles or were absorbed into the new rural populations, the Araucanians carried on a stubborn delaying action for more than three centuries. Their final defeat in the 1880's led to their placement on reservations rather than to enslavement or forced incorporation into haciendas as laborers.

The turning point, and for our purposes the significant cultural base line, therefore, is the beginning of the reservation period in 1884. This history is more like that of North American Indians than other

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Mapuche

Preface

This is the first of two monographs I plan to write about the Mapuche (Araucanian) Indians of central Chile, with whom my wife and I lived for twelve months in 1952-54. Its purpose is to offer a conceptualization of the structure of Mapuche society rather than to account for all aspects of Mapuche life. It is principally a study of the secular features of Mapuche society and therefore partial to the extent that considerations of the supernatural segment of the Mapuche world are held to a minimum. The supernatural ambient of the Mapuche will be discussed in a detailed description of the beliefs and social action involved in ritual performances in a book which is being prepared as a sequel to the present one.

Although very warlike for centuries, the Mapuche have been settled for generations on numerous reservations under conditions which have been conducive to a significant reintegration of their social institutions. While they are strikingly distinctive culturally and socially from Chilean peasants who occupy parts of the indigenous zone, the Mapuche nevertheless comprise an administrative unit of the Chilean government and have come into the sphere of the Chilean economy. They are, therefore, in no sense aboriginal or isolated. They have colonial status, and will be discussed throughout this book within the context of colonialism.

Owing to their importance as an ethnic enclave in Chilean society,

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to their interesting and rather well-documented history, and to the fact that relatively little was known about their contemporary way of life, I had planned for several years to do field work among the Mapuche. Before leaving for Chile, I became acquainted with Professor Mischa Titiev's book, *Araucanian Culture in Transition*, and also received additional information and personal encouragement from the author which helped me during the initial phase of field work, and for which I take this opportunity to express my gratitude. I disagree with a number of Titiev's interpretations and conclusions, but I fully appreciate the extent to which his own work facilitated mine.

Titiev's monograph and Father John Cooper's summary of the literature are among the most widely known professional studies of the Mapuche. A word about them will help clarify my own position, which is different from that held either by Titiev or Cooper. Titiev saw the Mapuche mainly as a changing culture ("society" being included in this concept), Cooper as a relatively static one. Titiev wrote that the Mapuche "are virtually indistinguishable from the poorer Chilean farmers who live in their vicinity" (1951:56). Cooper made the point that "Araucanian culture in the central zone . . . remained fairly intact until well toward the end of the 19th century, and much even remains today" (1946:697). I believe each of these opposed statements misrepresents the facts.

Titiev's observation is the result of casual inspection of some of the more apparent or superficial aspects of provincial life. The most obvious similarities between rural Chileans and Mapuche appear in certain cultural "traits" which, by and large, reflect retarded agricultural technology and rural poverty. Titiev himself noted differences in language, religion, kinship, and marriage, events in the life cycle, and so forth, but, in the absence of a structural analysis of Mapuche institutions, his conclusions seem always to imply simply that Mapuche society is coming more and more to approximate Chilean society. There is so little truth to this that the statement is overwhelmingly false, both as observation and judgment. As discussed by Titiev, Mapuche society appears as a blur, rapidly moving in the direction of an ill-defined regional peasant society. This emphasis has serious drawbacks. The integrative mechanisms which make Mapuche society a functioning entity, a society presently structured on a more complex level than in the pre-reservation era, are either overlooked or misinterpreted as "breaking down." In this regard I have only to cite Titiev's general omission of a discussion of patrilineal descent groups

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and his specific denial of the integrative effects of ancestor propitiation (1951:108). Without a consideration of these institutions Mapuche society cannot be understood at all.

Cooper's conclusion is different from Titiev's, although he was also preoccupied with cultural traits viewed discretely. Cooper's attempt to reconstruct Mapuche culture as a relatively untarnished model of its aboriginal expression resulted in unintentional equilibrism. Is it possible, after all, to say that a society has remained intact after stunning military defeat, population dispersion, and then resettlement and immobilization on more than 2,000 small reservations? Such a view is possible only if one thinks in terms of the persistence of culture traits as vestigial and discrete units "carried" or "practiced" by some descendent population, not if one is concerned with the structure of contemporary Mapuche society.

The position maintained in this monograph falls well between those of Cooper and Titiev. It disagrees with their interpretation rather than with their ethnography, although the reporting of ethnographic "fact" is undoubtedly colored by the theoretical position of the investigator. I want to make this clear: in arriving at my own position, I have made certain theoretical assumptions, apparently different from those which have been tacitly made by Cooper and Titiev. None of these is novel, but they all have to do with the manner in which contemporary Mapuche society has come into being and the way in which it maintains itself as a distinct entity in a colonial framework. It might be well to state certain of these assumptions now, since much of this book is based on an elaboration of them. They involve considerations of structural continuity and change, set in a context of ecological adjustment. I view Mapuche society as being in a phase of structural equilibrium. It is undergoing some organizational change, as always, but this represents minor pattern adjustment within a stable social structure. Major structural change occurred generations ago as a result of initial adaptation to reservation life. Qualitative changes in the structure of Mapuche society will likely occur again, but only as a result of pressing external forces. During the past five or six decades Mapuche society has exhibited marked structural stability. Contemporary Mapuche society is understandable, not as a thin reflection of aboriginal society or as a moribund, transitional society, but only as a relatively stable phase in the reintegration of evolving social institutions. The fact that it will inevitably cease to exist as an exotic appendage of Chilean society does not concern me

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in their language means "people of the land." They are and have long been agriculturalists. They are the only numerous indigenous society in Chile and, although their numbers are dwarfed by the millions of Quechua and Aymara Indians of the central Andes, they constitute one of the largest functioning Indian societies in South America.

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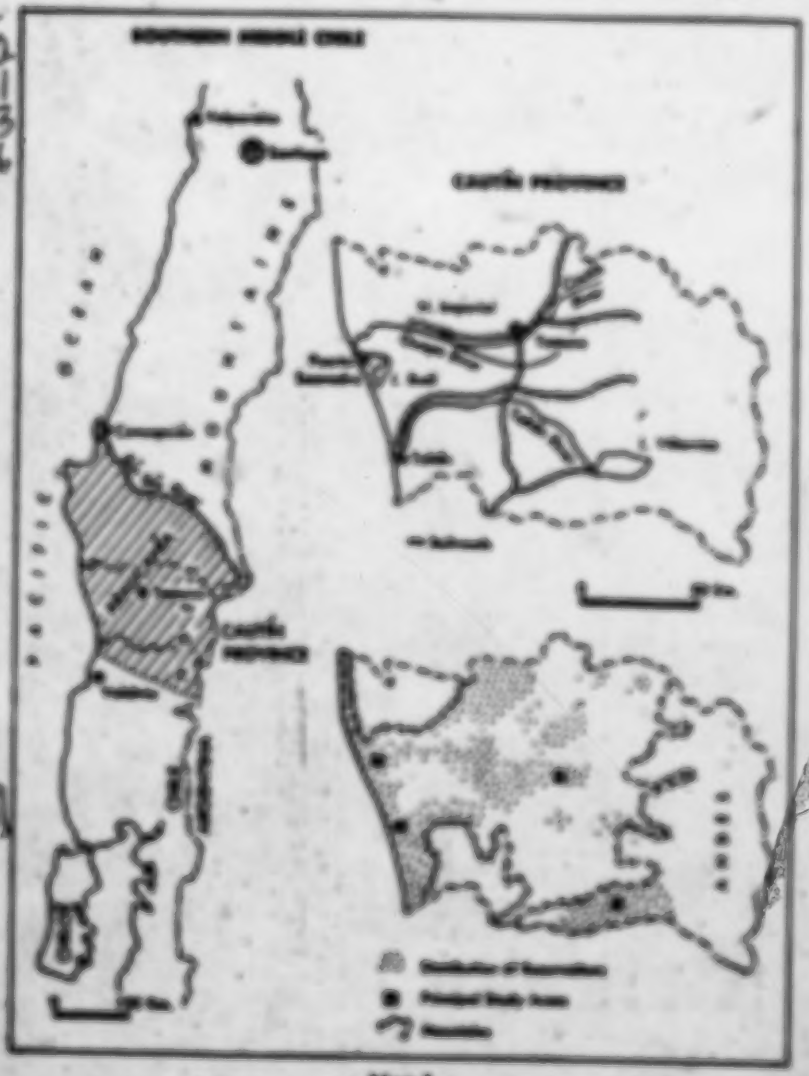

Map 1

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Mapuche
Chile S61

did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or cultivated for timber and firewood. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Temuco and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual — compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province — will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Rehue Huachi

This is a heavily populated area which lies about 10 kilometers southeast of Temuco, the provincial capital. Rehue Huachi designates an agricultural area of some 25 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called Ivivimawida (mound of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to Ivivimawida; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map 1). The following are reservations on which I worked in Rehue Huachi:

RESERVATION	HECTARES	POPULATION (c. 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Ahuapuco	572	134	c. 4 ha.
Huiñi	110	28	c. 4 ha.
Lemuco	120	34	c. 4 ha.
Manuco	300	100	c. 3 ha.

Pelahue

This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Tolten, about 80 kilometers southwest of Rehue Huachi, and not in the best wheat-growing area. Pelahue means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern outpost of the re-

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augmented to the point where some members of the landholding group are forced to seek subsistence elsewhere. On a few reservations, chiefs have managed to corner extremely large holdings, as on Alonquen, and have as their goal the maintenance of the reservation system in order to protect their landed interests.

Smaller holdings correlate with a tendency toward "neolocal" residence, and it is interesting to note that the chief of Alonquen has held together an extended household of fourteen members, exclusive of an impaliwe (tenant) family that lives on his land, while the average family is composed of a fraction over four members in residence.

Given a growing tendency to place high value on private ownership of land and production for the market, together with a concomitant de-emphasis of cooperative agricultural activities (and associated mechanisms for the distribution of wealth), inequities in the distribution of real property are accentuated. But further inspection of the interpersonal and interfamilial relationships among the various reservation strata is clear that merely holding a large number of hectares is not alone sufficient for the accumulation of wealth, the raising of one's prestige within or without the community, and other activities often associated with land acquisition in an agrarian society. One of the large landholders on Alonquen, a man with 46 hectares, has to borrow work animals, seeds, and equipment from some of his fellow residents, who share in the harvest of his fields. He cultivates only about three hectares of wheat, and corn, works on a half-share basis, or has in pasture the remaining 43 hectares.

People with the most land, however, are in a position to have the largest herds of cattle and sheep. Sheep are especially valued since they provide wool for sale and for home industries, as well as choice meat in suitable quantities. The acquisition of a large flock, if there is sufficient land for adequate pasture, is a common goal among the Mapuche. The flocks increase about ten per cent each year, but since many die during the hard winter, others are sold, and some are consumed, the average number remains about the same year after year. No conscious effort is made to limit the number, though, and the 464 sheep owned by the inhabitants of Alonquen are more than enough to provide them with an adequate supply of meat.

Reservation Limitations: Pelehue Region

In the Pelehue region the most intensive study was made on reservation Llaneruca. Of a total of 499 hectares, approximately the an-

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the concentration of wheat production and the simple rotation of fields in the Roble Huacho region. Rotation of crops permits more of the land to be farmed each year, natural pasturage rather than fallow fields serving for the herds. Even less wheat is raised on Huilcan than on Llancaman, a feature it has in common with many reservations along the coast. Crop yields are about the same as on Llancaman, and are consequently higher than in the Roble Huacho region, averaging better than 6:1. Nevertheless, owing to the fact that so little land is cleared, scarcely enough crops are harvested to feed the inhabitants throughout the year.

Huilcan was one of the poorest reservations I visited and surely the poorest one on which I lived and worked in 1959. From what I could judge, the hardship began around 1947, at which time most of the land was planted in potatoes. That year there was virtually a total crop failure. People borrowed what they could and ate into reserves such as cattle and sheep. They consumed most or all of their seed, and used up nearly all their pigs and fowl. Some assistance was received from the *Caja de Crédito*, but successive crop failures since 1947 have made credit almost impossible to obtain. It is only recently that the residents have begun to diversify their crops, apparently resigned to the fact that they are not able to cope with the potato blight (even by holding fertility rites). The people regarded a proposed government appropriation of approximately $10,000,000 pesos for all Mapuche in Araucanía (1959) as a windfall, but felt that the small share they might receive would be of little lasting help.

Although there is no scarcity of cultivable land, the people despair of freeing themselves from their present state of hardship without government assistance. There is no general agreement as to what the government should do for them short of providing them with the necessities of life. Some residents, including the chief, feel that a large-scale drainage and clearing project should be undertaken with government help – that is, with government machinery and skilled labor. Many people are also severely critical of the educational system in the government schools, since their children learn merely the fundamentals of reading and writing and spend a good deal of their time singing psalms (Christian religion is part of the curriculum in all government schools). They feel that agricultural courses should be taught, but few of them realize that the government does not have adequately trained personnel for such a program.

For a more detailed picture of the man-land ratio, the amount and

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with him. If a *mingaco* is held, the chief is generally invited to partake of the festive meal, and people nearly always respond to a chief's or lineage head's invitation to *mingaco* work parties which they sponsor. In perhaps the most agriculturally advanced region in which I lived, southeast of Temuco, I witnessed a large *mingaco* which involved more than twenty teams of oxen (i.e. twenty or so families), including a small number of friends from adjacent reservations. It was held for the purpose of clearing brush and plowing the fields of three households who sponsored the affair.

The ability to rent farm machinery in busy periods affords an individual family greater independence from others on the reservation than it formerly enjoyed. The eagerness to use modern equipment is wholly consistent with the growing notion of private ownership of land and other changing economic values which reflect Chilean influence. If it were not for the machinery, interfamilial and interlineage schisms would be overridden in time of exigency – as they are occasionally during emergencies – when arrangements would have to be made for large-scale cooperative ventures such as getting seeds in the ground or grain in the storage bins before bad weather interrupted activities. The independence which mechanization permits, however, while it certainly has important economic implications, is not entirely motivated by economic considerations. If one were to take at face value the statement that *mingaco* labor was too costly and inefficient and for that reason is today less frequently resorted to on the reservations, one should be prepared to answer questions such as "Why are the Mapuche willing to pay more than they can afford for renting farm machinery?" and "What is the motivation for overcapitalization?" There is no stigma attached to working *mingaco*, and the outlay in food and drink is considerably less than the 10 per cent of harvested grain paid to the entrepreneur whose machine is used.

Mingacos are organized for other things besides planting, harvesting, and threshing. In certain regions they are frequently held to clear land, to repair communal roads, to drain swamps, to raise houses, and so forth. Road repair and drainage are generally under the direction of the chief, who will provide a large share of the food and drink for the workers, but the ultimate decision is in the hands of the community elders – the household heads. In general, if *mingaco* includes whole families rather than just male workers, each family provides some of the food it consumes during the festivity. If only

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tures which involve Mapuche-Chilean interaction in agricultural affairs.

A long-standing aim of the Chilean government has been to instill notions of private ownership of land among the reservation Mapuche, primarily so that land would become available on the open market and accrue to individuals best able to exploit it. Contrary to common opinion, Mapuche reservations are no longer being rapidly divided into severalty holdings.[1] It is true enough that a great deal of Mapuche land has been lost in the process of colonization and that some of this represents the relinquishment of severalty holdings to whites, whether through fair sale or otherwise. But a political sophistication has developed among Mapuche leaders and the trend toward widespread *división* has been checked. In this regard it is interesting to note that McBride's 1930 figures for reservation communities in Cautín Province approximate those in existence today.[2]

The very real possibility, sometimes viewed as an inevitability by Mapuche, of establishing titles of severalty bolsters the notion of private ownership and the emotional tone involved in outright possession of land. Nevertheless, the knowledge that many of their people have lost titles shortly after they acquired them leads a good many Mapuche to wish to continue living under the relative protection afforded by reservation law.

Many of these Indians, however, still regard their holdings as their inalienable property, land which will be theirs when they "are ready" for *división*. The majority of Mapuche are opposed to *división* per se, feeling it to be a governmental device for disrupting the integrity of Mapuche society. Their concern is with being cheated out of their land or falling under a tax burden which they would have to meet as freeholders. They do not wish to rush into things. They want to become educated, learn more progressive farm techniques, and so forth, before they consider *división*.

Some Mapuche, however, are eager to have land divided and to obtain severalty title to their allotment. These are usually individuals who feel they will receive a larger share of reservation land at the time of *división* apportionment, or those who merely want to sell out. Generally, on reservations where there is fairly abundant common land, there is little interest in *división*. Where land is scarce and un-

[1] See Lipschutz, 1956, especially Chaps. 6, 7, and 12.

[2] There are discrepancies in the several lists of reservation figures I have seen. McBride, 1936, listed 1,908; Lipschutz, 1956, listed 2,102 (probably including those reservations being considered for *división*).

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Even though it might be said that the elementary family is acquiring greater economic independence – at least in the area of Mapuche-Chilean relationships – and might even have greater numerical expression on the reservations than formerly, there is no word, no convenient Araucanian phrase to distinguish this type of family from others or from larger aggregates of different composition such as the lineage. The Spanish word *familia* is used with some growing precision in this regard, which I take to indicate mainly the family's changing position in the economic structure. But this is only one aspect of family organization and, in any case, the elementary family is – at least during one or more phases of its development – always imbedded in a larger domestic group.

Rather than the elementary family, therefore, the household is the most common referent. The usual Araucanian designation for household is *ruka* (house); and it is employed without special reference to household composition. Today, *ruka* is never used in the sense of lineage, although in the recent past, when large unilocal households were characteristic social units, it might well have had something of this significance. Nevertheless, in the past *ruka* commonly designated extended- and/or compound-family households, which again suggests that the elementary family has been traditionally conceived of as a component of a larger domestic aggregate.

Lof and *lofche* are used to indicate a group of *rukas* (households) which have some spatial cohesion, in contrast to the more dispersed residence pattern which is common among the Mapuche (see Maps II and III). Spatial proximity indicates social cohesion. In discussing the composition of *lof*, informants note that the males of such a group are close patrilineal kinsmen – father and sons or a group of brothers and their families. If the heads of the individual households maintain social and economic relationships among them, relationships having a workaday importance, the *lof* functions as an extended-family group. Even in the absence of purely economic ties, however, such closely related households are always tied together by strong bonds of moral (religious) obligation and form a corporate segment of funeral and fertility congregations.

The etymology of *lof* suggests to Titiev a linguistic reflection of the breakup of a once strictly unilocal (household) residence pattern. Since *lofn* means "to bulge" or "to fall apart," this seems a plausible hypothesis. To test it, it would be helpful to learn when *lof* was first applied to groupings of this sort, and whether this involved any change in meaning. The word might also reflect a pattern of estab-

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kinsmen. This is true even though reservation records dating back to the 1880's are available for the reckoning of all genealogical connections with certainty.

The most common words for reservation are Spanish: *reducción*, *reserva*, *comunidad*, etc. An Araucanian word sometimes used in this connection is *trokin*. It means a division or a part, and it refers to a regional population rather than to that of a single reservation; *trokinche*[1] are the inhabitants thereof. The word is rarely encountered in conversations about purely secular affairs, however, since a discussion of reservations per se usually revolves around national or regional politics and economics which involve the use of the Spanish terms mentioned above.

To some degree, therefore, reservation boundaries are vague political abstractions employed only in certain situations and contexts by the Mapuche. The people tend to refer to themselves as belonging to such-and-such a region (identifiable with the ritual congregation) rather than to such-and-such a reservation; and the two referents are seldom coterminous. Also, within reservation boundaries there are local place names with which residents are able to identify. For example, people will refer to themselves as coming from Pelehue (a region including several reservations) where they live on reservation Mariqueo (one of those in the region) in a section of it known as Hualpín. Consequently, they could be referred to as Pelehueche, Mariqueoche (rare), or Hualpinche. Although not commonly used today, place names on the order of Hualpinche are remembered as once having been employed with great frequency, at a time when the *lof* was of greater economic and political importance in the social structure and the ritual congregation smaller and more directly concerned with the propitiation of authentic ancestral spirits.

In the many books written about the Mapuche there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of kinship groupings (cf. Cooper and Titiev for a discussion of this problem). This seems to have resulted from (1) a failure to differentiate between unilineal and residential principles of integration, (2) biased and imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish

[1] *Trokinche* is used in a manner which tends to classify a ritual congregation, that is, members of several reservations who regularly participate in *küllatun* fertility rites. I defer detailed discussion of the ritual integration of Mapuche society to a forthcoming monograph, although I touch on congregationalism in a later chapter.

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and English, and (3) preoccupation with pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as actually observed. 114 61

Latcham and Guevara amassed volumes of descriptive material on Mapuche culture around the turn of the century, but were especially interested in the reconstruction of social history. The former argued for matrilineal origins, the latter against them. Many of their descriptive passages are obscured by their nineteenth-century evolutionary orientation, their accounts of Mapuche social structure suffering from presuppositions about the beginnings of society in general. To a large extent, they neglected contemporary social interrelationships for what was to them the more appealing isolation and interpretation of historical survivals. This renders much of their discussion about pre- and early postreservation social structure suspect.

Mischa Titiev, the first professional anthropologist to make an extended field study of the modern Mapuche, stresses the importance of common residence for Mapuche social structure, while largely overlooking the analytic possibilities of unilinear organization which intrigued Latcham, Guevara, and others. This seems to have resulted from his viewing the reservation as an undifferentiated whole, in terms of structure, and composed indeed along the lines of a *lofche*. Titiev interposes no stable social unit between the household and the reservation community, even though he mentions the existence of lineages occasionally and touches on patrilineality in his discussion of kinship. While he is aware that the larger reservations are of a "diversified" composition (1951:69, 71, 73), he makes little analytical use of this observation. 114 62 61

Theoretical bias and penchant for pseudo history aside, it seems clear that the degree of emphasis placed on either unilineal or residential aspects of group solidarity and integration has resulted in confusion in the analysis and description of Mapuche society. Actually, overemphasis of one principle or the other has led to distorted analyses of Mapuche social structure, insofar as any systematic analyses have been made.

At least since the inception of the present reservation system, Mapuche social structure has been greatly influenced by the growing importance of what Murdock defines as compromise kingroups, and what I shall call simply the residential kingroup. Common patrilocal residence and patrilineal descent are, where in-married women are 62 413 618 [591]

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on small reservations, lineages have increased in membership, in stability, and in socially significant depth. The principle of the unity of the lineage has become crystallized.

The effects of disruptive warfare on the structure of Mapuche social groups have been dealt with elsewhere in outline (Faron, 1956). There are numerous allusions to the instability of kingroups in Araucanian literature pertaining to the period prior to the turn of the century. Nearly all references to hostilities and population dispersal are very general, however, and few describe the actual effects on particular social aggregates. Typical of such general accounts are the following quotations from Guevara (1929): "En epocas de guerra i particularmente cuando un grupo patriarcal tomaba grandes proporciones, algunos miembros de el se ausentaban estraordinariamente para ir a establicerse a otro lugar" (290). "Aunque los araucanos vivian apasionadamente ligados al suelo de sus mayores, la guerra perpetua a que estuvieron entregados, pues antes de someterse, abandonaban sus tierras al usurpador para radicarse en otras secciones territoriales, unidos o fraccionados" (303). Guevara's generalizations are built on extensive observations and detailed autobiographical accounts of the dissolution and migration of family groups. However, it is generally difficult to determine genealogical connections among the groups represented by Guevara's informants. Titiev, though, cites clearer evidence for the migration of a particular patrilineal group, which he obtained through the collection of genealogies in the Cholchol region, and ties the movements into the establishment of several reservation groups (1951:79). The present writer also recorded similar movements of specific groups. These data seem to reflect a common pattern of group fragmentation which endured until the Mapuche were finally settled on small reservations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the prereservation period the Mapuche frequently banded together to defend their territory against invading whites. This was more than a defense of farmland and pasturage per se. It was general resistance to white penetration of their ancestral habitat. Only when the Mapuche became confined on small reservations under conditions of scarce land did actual fields become important to them. Ability to trace relationship to the founder of the reservation took precedence over ability to defend territory by force of arms. Genealogical connection took on additional significance with the introduction of

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merced for the reservation group. This is one important reason for distinguishing lineal and residential units.

It seems possible to determine the percentage of reservations in Araucanía having single as opposed to multikingroups only through extensive genealogical research in the field. Nevertheless, a review of *título* records indicates that at the time of original registration (*radicación*) perhaps a majority of reservations were composed of two or more unrelated kingroups. This is confirmed by Guevara's *Las ultimas familias i costumbres araucanas,* which is an extensive chronicle of the realignments of social groups under pressure of colonial warfare and internecine hostilities.[2] A limited survey conducted in the field in 1953 suggests that reservations continue to be so composed. Today, since the expansion of localized lineages, some of the unrelated, displaced, "remnant" groups, which attached themselves to larger social aggregates at the time of *radicación* and before, have increased in membership through the localization of sublineages and now represent sizable groups under the most favorable conditions. Remnant groups have also died out on reservations, so it is not possible to say that the *título* records accurately reflect present-day conditions. But I recorded no instance of unrelated lineages merging through a manipulation of genealogies. On the contrary, there is good evidence that prereservation genealogical connections have been forgotten. There are no structures which may be called "clans," that is, unilineal groups recognizing common descent but unable to trace genealogical connection to a known common ancestor.

Generally speaking, the smaller reservations tend to be composed of a single patrilineage, larger ones of more than one patrilineage. Smaller reservations therefore might be composed of a single residential kingroup which embraces the total reservation population, while larger reservations are composed of more than one residential kingroup. Where more than one residential kingroup is found, that nucleated around the lineage of the title holder is usually the larger and more important on the reservation. As I shall discuss later, this is usually the chief's lineage and is dominant with respect to others.

Murdock's criteria for the structure of a compromise kingroup will be used in discussing residential kingroup organization where the assumption is made that this group is coterminous with the total

[2] Guevara, 1913, Chap. 2:15–185, gives innumerable examples of group fragmentation and realignment in extensive autobiographical material which he collected.

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reservation group. However, when multikingroup structure is considered, kinship ties are not involved in their integration into a corporate reservation community, and Murdock's definition does not fit.[8] Multikingroup alignments are mainly of a political and ritual nature.

A word is necessary about the rule of residence, which has been described both as patrilocal and neolocal. Titiev writes of the breakdown of patrilocal households and the emergence of a pattern of neolocality – neolocality insofar as sons establish themselves outside the paternal household after marriage. Nevertheless, since sons set up their families within reservation limits and remain for life with their natal group, residence is actually patrilocal by group or reservation. In prereservation times, when fragmentation of local residence groups seems to have been endemic in Araucanía, the establishment of neolocal households had a different significance. It at least meant considerable spatial separation, if not severance of relationship altogether. This is no longer the case.

If the reason for the establishment of a new household is other than disharmonic relationships between father and son or between brothers, there tends to be a sustained relationship between the segments of the family group. Essentially, therefore, within the reservation settlement residence is patrilocal according to the spirit of this classification. Even when relationships are strained between segments of a formerly unilocal household, reservation limits compel physical proximity and militate against fragmentation of the localized lineage and the residential kingroup. There is also moral restraint, insofar as these segments are obligated to participate in funeral services and fertility rites.

In one of his historical reconstructions, Titiev appears to equate the social composition of a modern reservation with a prereservation-period extended-family group or *lofche* (1951:80). He has almost nothing to say about patrilineal structure and seems to view lineages simply as extended families. To a certain extent this fits in with Murdock's view that the structure of the compromise kingroup is similar to that of the extended family, except that the former is a much larger social aggregate in which a unilinear rule of descent is explicitly recognized. In the broad cross-cultural approach taken by Murdock this

[8] Murdock's criteria (1949:68) are as follows: the group (1) must be based explicitly on a unilinear rule of descent which unites its central core of members, (2) must have residential unity, (3) must have a positive sentiment and, in particular, the in-married spouses must be recognized as an integral part of the membership.

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might be a fair generalization, supposing that the principle of unilineal descent is only latent in an extended-family group or that it does not serve to weld it into a corporate patrilineal unit. But Murdock suggests further that the development of a consciousness of unilineality *follows* the formation of these compromise kingroups. In view of certain aspects of Mapuche social history (cf. Faron, 1956 and 1961), this hypothesis seems overstated. Historical records indicate that patrilineal reckoning of descent, which governed inheritance of titles and material goods and membership in the core group of the extended family or *lofche*, was characteristic of Mapuche social structure since the time of the Spanish Conquest.

Titiev's hypothesis notwithstanding, the structure of the present-day Mapuche residential kingroup differs significantly from that of pre- and early postreservation extended-family or *lofche* organization. The residential kingroup has grown in size and the socially significant depth of lineages has increased. The residential kingroup now comprises important subunits which in prereservation days split off, moved away, and lost contact with each other. Then, too, reservations composed of more than one such group are faced with the problem of their integration under the *political* leadership of a chief who is the kinship head of only one of the kingroups of the total resident population. These structural changes are traceable to the imposition of the reservation system and to modifications in the ecological adjustment contingent upon reservation living. Even where the residential kingroup and reservation were coterminous, the authority structure underwent significant change with the emergence of a strong chieftainship (*cacicazgo*) which was different in degree from the minimal control of the kinship elder (*lonko*) who headed the prereservation *lofche*. For the reasons indicated, there seems only a superficial resemblance between the present-day reservation kingroup and the prereservation-period kingroup composed of a man's family and following.

FEMALES OF THE PATRILINEAGE

A rule of exogamy prohibits marriage with a member of one's patrilineage, and a rule of patrilocal residence requires that a woman change residence after marriage, going to live with her husband's kingroup. Women of the patrilineage, therefore, tend to form only a temporary and unstable complement of their natal kingroup or reser-

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of many gifts of food from her kinsmen and their families. If she was past the age of childbearing her position would be rather serene, since she would be on her natal reservation among her blood kin and many old friends and relatives and their offspring, who would care for her while she lived and bury her as a member of the residential kingroup when she died. If industrious, she might well manage to earn cash by selling blankets, ponchos, rugs, or other things she manufactured or raised. Her biggest problem would be to see that her land was prepared and sown and that her harvests were reaped in time. Her income from farming would tend to be small, since she would not have received many hectares or the best land. She might have no cattle, sheep, or barnyard animals.

UXORILOCAL RESIDENCE[4]

Historically, there seem to have been sporadic instances of uxorilocal residence, which apparently have given rise to the notion held by Latcham that Mapuche society once had a matrilineal base. I find no evidence in Latcham or other writers to bear out this surmise, however. Occurrences of uxorilocal residence in the past are explicable in much the same terms as such instances today – in general, the male is landless, but the reasons for this vary.

In prereservation times, when Mapuche society was characterized by much greater mobility, offshoots of larger residence groups migrated considerable distances in looking either for safety from Chilean troops and marauding bands of Mapuche or for better land. Mobility provided a safety valve for factionalism within the larger residential group.

In each of the five different localities studied by the writer, there is evidence that during the present and the previous generation men had moved to their wives' reservations to live. Instances of similar moves are found in historical accounts beginning with those of Pedro de Valdivia, around the middle of the sixteenth century.

To a great extent the completion of reservation mapping and registration after 1912 brought about a cessation of this mobility. Reservation land was limited and clearly defined, and it was difficult for emigrants, who for the most part were distrusted as strangers, often as sorcerers, to secure holdings of their own elsewhere. It cannot be

[4] Uxorilocal is a more precise term than matrilocal and implies in Mapuche society a temporary departure from a patrilocal rule rather than a permanent ambilocal relationship with reference to the distaff side of a family.
§[i.e., a woman who re-established residence in her natal group – ANALYST]

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the stability of local residential groupings throughout the colonial and early republican periods.

By the 1850's there was increased colonization of the southern part of central Chile. Several towns were also built near and along the Pacific coast south of Concepción. Nueva Imperial was founded in 1852 and Toltén in 1867. South of Villarrica and Valdivia a number of settlements were also established. In this same period the provinces of Arauco and Llanquihue were created. Through immigration from Europe and the northern provinces of Chile white population increased to more than 100,000 by the end of the nineteenth century in this part of Chile. The greatest impetus to colonization came after the War of the Pacific and after the pacification of the Mapuche. McBride described the settlement of Araucanía in these words: "Small blocks of territory, chiefly in the foothills of the Andes and in the deeper forests, still harbored clusters of Indian families who clung to their native speech, apparel, and customs. But white settlement was spreading. New provinces were created: Bío Bío in 1875, Malleco and Cautín in 1887 – thus the whole of the Frontera was incorporated into the national domain" (1936:295–96). I might add that large blocks of Mapuche continue to live in the Central Valley on land now cleared of forest. With the establishment of reservations, the Mapuche were effectively brought under the administration of the national government and were influenced by its political and legal systems.

It is my feeling that most if not all the speculative reconstructions of prereservation political organization have to be dismissed, largely because the early chroniclers and even the more sophisticated ethnographers of the late nineteenth century saw Mapuche social and political organization in terms of European models founded on territorial units which seem to have no basis in fact. Cooper (1946), from whom the following excerpts are taken, gives an unbiased appraisal of the historical material on military and political organization:

> Some major features of the system . . . are quite clear. There was no precedent for an over-all chief, no centralization of authority. . . . Furthermore, such authority as was invested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited – exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized rights to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering [104].

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178 recent phenomenon, the development of which is contingent upon the
594 establishment of a stringent reservation policy and a changing eco-
596 nomic base. The defensive and food-producing advantages inherent in the cooperative aspect of extended-family organization (*lofche*) have, respectively, disappeared and diminished. Formerly, cohesive needs seem to have been great enough under conditions of external threat to survival to compensate for some of the tensions resulting from multifamily household residence. But the general conditions of war and almost unlimited physical mobility were such that segments of larger domestic groups characteristically became detached from the original group, taking up residence elsewhere. While the ideal familial arrangement seems to have been conceived as a multiple-
[613] family household, the absence of corporate lineage responsibilities in prereservation times contributed to the frangible nature of large domestic groups. Nowadays, the reservation matrix inhibits the fragmentation of patrilineal kingroups, within the context of the reservation territory, but *intra*reservational mobility – the establishment of "neolocal" households in relative economic independence from each other – is still feasible, provided there is enough parentally held land to be divided among married sons.

[592] The following table shows the number of extended, compound, and elementary-*household units* (without considering "joint-extended" relationships among elementary units) on five reservations in differ-
[127] ent areas of Araucanía. Data for the year 1900, which is an average date, were obtained from reservation records and supplemented by
[114] informants' statements. The figures for 1953 were gathered in the course of field work on the reservations listed. Changes in household composition at different periods during the last fifty years defy simple tabulation, but an idea of the kinds of modification which have taken place may be had by consulting Appendix A,[2] which describes changes in household composition for one reservation over roughly the same period.

Although the number of extended-family households *might* be greater than the number of elementary households on any reservation and in any restricted span of time, I suggest that the secular trend is toward the numerical supremacy of the elementary type of household unit, whether or not the extended type is the verbalized ideal form and regardless of the interaction among the separate segments. Informants' statements indicate that there is no longer any need for the individual to support the tensions characteristic of multifamily

[2] [See Cat 116, pp. 229-233 -- Analyst]

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582 613 [604] not borne out by genealogies as far back as these are remembered. Whatever the historical implications of this Mapuche notion, the notion itself is in no way descriptive of the contemporary marriage system.

Ordinary circumstances of marriage result in adult brothers and sisters living on differept reservations, which is to say that under the rules of lineage exogamy and patrilocal residence women move away from their natal group after marriage and men do not. A woman retains her lineage affiliation, but her daily interests are geared to the activities of her husband's community. However, she continues to play an important part in marriage negotiations between the community into which she married and the community into which she was born.

[604] In a "cross-cousin" marriage system a young man's closest tie with the unit from which he obtains his wife is his mother, sister of his future father-in-law. From a girl's point of view, her father is the closest tie to the unit from which she will obtain a husband, father's sister being her potential mother-in-law. Unless one is particularly 601 aware of this relationship, the nature of ego charts tends to obscure it, since the mother's brother, for example, is not simultaneously described as mother's brother/father-in-law. Furthermore, the standard ego chart gives a strong impression, because of the marriage links which are shown, that only "real" relatives as distinguished from "classificatory" relatives are described. While it is always to be understood that these actors on the ego chart are to be viewed as symbols for categories of kin, "real" relatives are also always included in these categories -- and accounts of kinship behavior with respect to "real" and classificatory relatives tend to become jumbled.[1]

582 Genealogies show that marriage between primary cross-cousins, children of actual siblings, seldom takes place. In the following section, I shall argue that this, too, is because of a feeling of "closeness." [584] A corollary of this is that, while "real" mother's brothers and father's sisters might be instrumental in helping arrange marriage, it is almost never the marriage of their own children to one another. Genealogies [604] show that brother and sister almost never stand in a direct in-law relationship with the offspring of either, as they would had their own children married one another.

[114] [1] I think there is this tendency in the arguments of Homans and Schneider (1955) which speculate about lines of authority and sentiment, despite occasional caveats that they deal with classificatory kin.

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WIFE GIVERS AND WIFE RECEIVERS

The "lineage map" (Diagram III) is a simplification and schematically arranged picture of wife-giving and wife-receiving patterns among lineages A through M on six reservations in the Roble Huacho region southeast of Temuco (see Map I). The arrows represent the flow of women from group to group. The data are incomplete to the extent that some of the smaller lineages are not represented and there are possibly additional marriage ties between those shown which I failed to record. Only marriages with nearby reservations are indicated, there being perhaps as many more-distant groups related as wife givers and wife receivers. Furthermore, the arrows indicate only the direction in which women pass, not the number of women involved. Since I worked full-time on only one of the reservations in this region, I was unable to obtain complete information for others

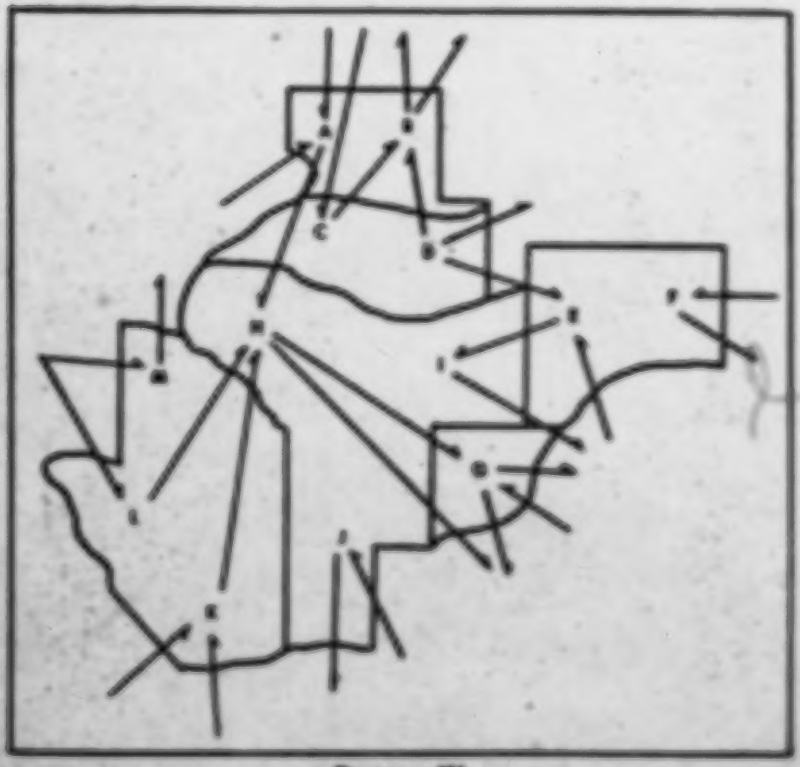

Diagram III

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during my residence. A purely physical impediment was the distance involved, some 15 square miles in total area between more than 200 households on the six reservations shown. Similar data obtained in the region around the town of Tolten during a subsequent period of residence, also incomplete in the same ways, wholly confirmed the general pattern represented in the diagram.

The diagram roughly portrays the size, shape, and positioning of the six reservations shown. However, while there is a strong tendency for distinct patrilineages on multilineage reservations to occupy different sectors of a reservation, their separation is by no means as sharp as pictured here.

The arrows all reflect the occurrence of matrilateral marriages in the sense developed in the preceding pages. It is hoped that the simple graphic quality of the diagram will indicate the complexities of the system better than a complicated verbal reckoning of the flow of women, which might obscure the pattern of intergroup relationships on a wife-giving and wife-receiving basis. The groups are pictured on the ground, so to speak.

As shown in the diagram, an exogamous patrilineage tends to receive from and give wives to several other homologous groups. The number of groups involved in the real situation is greater than the arrows indicate, no more than two arrows being shown to emanate from or enter any of the lettered lineage groups. While there are in many cases more than two such relationships, the diagram is faithful in showing only one arrow emanating or entering where marriage transactions occur with only one wife-giving group and one wife-receiving group. These latter are small lineages in which sublineation has not developed to a great extent or in which the sublineages are related through primary siblings. In the larger lineages, giving and receiving in relation to several other lineages, matrilateral marriages tend to be contracted pretty much along the lines of descent which have given rise to sublineage growth.

It will also be noted that reservation exogamy is indicated by the diagram. Actually, genealogies show that in the past an occasional marriage has been contracted between some of the lineage groups on several of the reservations. There is no marriage rule which would prohibit reservation endogamy on multilineage reservations. Yet there seems to have occurred an extension of lineage exogamy to the entire reservation group, an exogamic bond which serves to place community relationships on a kinship basis.

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as a result of cultural conservatism but for the functional reason of expediency. 582 601

In the structural relationships that began to emerge with the decline of polygyny we have an example of parental authority operating in the arrangement of interlineage marriage and a handing over of father rights to a son.[3] Whereas formerly, in the preconversion era, marriage contracts were between households, they later became interlineage arrangements under the authority of the chief or lineage head who controlled the land and gave or withheld permission to marry. Marriage wealth provided by the localized lineage was of course controlled by the parental sibling group who formerly competed with the young men for wives, and marriage arrangements depended on their solidarity. While younger men are among themselves potential competitors for wives, competition is minimized by differences in relative age, increased range of selection through the incorporation of a sufficient number of wife-giving groups, and the internal differentiation of the local descent group into sublineages which tend to receive women from groups most closely related to wives of the sublineage members. The modifications in kinship terminology is consonant with changes in the social structure which affected the marriage patterns. [198]

MARRIAGE WEALTH AND SCARCE LAND

To conclude this chapter I will elaborate an idea expressed earlier about land as a factor of utmost importance in the regulation of marriage. The discussion will outline some general changes in the social and economic systems, engendered by reservation living, which are related to the marriage practices. 583 581

It was said that Mapuche tend to view marriage as a union sanctioned by family agreement and an equal exchange of wealth between

[3] This is the point made explicit by Titiev, cited and disputed by Leach, *op.cit.* Leach writes that "Titiev does not appear to have recognized that such an arrangement would imply a special continuing relationship between the 'wife taking lineage' on the one hand and the 'wife giving lineage' on the other." It is my contention that in Mapuchedom such a "special continuing relationship" did develop in preconversion times and that preconversion conditions were instrumental with such development. The correctness of the interpretation depends, of course on the reliability of the historical data as much as on the theoretical point of view. I do not feel that it is correct to think in terms of corporate lineages having existed in preconversion days or, by extension, to speak of a principle such as the "unity of the lineage" operating before subsistence intensified the potential and even to some extent forced the growth of corporate, localized lineage groups. [114]

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dictions of Guevara and Titiev what has actually happened to Mapuche society? Are not such predictions similar to those which, on whatever grounds, forecast the "end of the world?" Whether it dies from cooling or from fiery obliteration, the Mapuche world will disappear as it is presently known. Who can argue with this?

Meanwhile, the Mapuche go on as they have been for several generations, projecting the best image they can muster of traditional Mapuche society. They *delight* in speaking Araucanian, even on those rare occasions when it is not as easy for them as it *should* be; that is, even when they are more fluent in Spanish than in Araucanian. Ritual *has* to be spoken in Araucanian to be fully effective. Sacrificial offerings *should* be made in certain ways—meat, grain, and liquid offerings contained in traditional pottery or on traditional altars. Although wealthier Mapuche sometimes build Chilean-type houses alongside their ruka, family life goes on within the ruka and the frame house is used possibly as sleeping quarters or storage space, serving as a wealth-status symbol rather than as a comfortable domicile. Mapuche males have discarded ancestral dress such as the *chamal* and *chiripá*, but most of them believe that the Chilean *huaso* costume which they like to affect is fundamentally a Mapuche creation. Women, by and large, are reluctant to give up the *kepam* (a woolen homespun wrap-around), the *ekul* (today a store-bought shawl), and various kinds of silver jewelry. Even highly acculturated women, who rarely wear fully traditional garb when at home (primarily because it is more expensive than a cotton dress), deck themselves out in complete Mapuche regalia when they attend ceremonials and fiestas, or when they make visits to town. These are surface phenomena which are symbolic of the reconstituted reservation society. They are symbolic of the kind of social integration discussed in the foregoing chapters.

Similar surface phenomena are the material cultural traits and agricultural techniques which reflect wealth or poverty among Mapuche and Chilean peasants alike. They are shared by two people whose social structures are vastly different. They symbolize certain changes in Mapuche economic organization, but these are as yet *intrastructural* changes indicating possible processual trends rather than culminations.

The final sentence of Titiev's monograph reads: "So, the Araucanians may yet retain some of their old ways of life for a few generations, but a time will inevitably come when their former usages will

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persist only as memories" (1951:132). There can be no disagreement with this conclusion except to say that it tells the present short by not analyzing Mapuche society in its own terms, as it exists. As a long-range statement Titiev's closing remark summarizes many of his intermediate conclusions that Mapuche culture is breaking down under various pressures. Such a point of view, however, tends to relegate many cultural traits to a scrap heap of isolated vestiges and survivals, rather than to see them in the perspective of an ongoing social structure. I think it is possible that Titiev was overly impressed with breakdown because two of the three "reservations" on which he did research in 1948 actually had ceased being reservation communities by 1951,[1] having undergone *división* into severalty holdings[2]—where land was allocated in individual title and corporate organization was no longer officially recognized or existent. I have inquired into the general causes and effects of *división* and the only conclusion I have been able to reach is that *división* signifies a large measure of social discord both before and after the fact. Settlements which have undergone *división* are no longer officially or structurally reservations (*reducciones*) or Indian communities (*comunidades indígenas*).

A number of writers around the turn of the century, including Latcham and Guevara, two of the most astute observers of Mapuche culture and society, also forecast large-scale and rapid transition and the general breakdown of Mapuche social structure. It seems that this view led them to interpret many social phenomena as vestigial, and caused them to concentrate on reconstructing Mapuche social history. A generation later, in 1936, McBride wrote: "The abolition of their agrarian communities is an important event in the history of Chile, representing the virtual extinction of the long-maintained Araucanian independence" (1936:313; also cited in Titiev, 1951:13). Forecasts of this sort are on the order of Titiev's prediction and refer, in a sense, to obliteration of Mapuche society, rather than to infrastructural changes in economic organization brought about through accommodations to a regional framework of agricultural production, markets, and a cash-credit system.

We have seen that the reservation policy is geared to entice the Mapuche to give up their traditional way of life and relinquish their land to more productive agriculturalists. Where reservations have disbanded, land has tended to be sold and the Mapuche have lost their birthright—communal title and individual usufructuary rights

[1] Conclusion in 1911 and Carnarvon in 1920 (Titiev, 1951:89, 93).

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[P.V.]

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(kukunwen) connected with their own "society." The chief priest (ñidolafu) performs on behalf of the congregation during the large, public ñidatun, usually in the dual role of chief of a reservation community and head of the dominant lineage therein, but a smaller family group may also hold a ñidatun (which I regard as a preconversion practice) in which prayers are offered to the pantheon and to ancestral spirits by a household leader who, in most cases, is head of a sublineage or a subordinate lineage, but who, in any case, is called ñidolafu. Implicit in these variations in ritual specialty and the nature of the congregation are interesting problems of social structure and function. While the Mapuche have made, and are apparently willing to continue making accommodations in their approach to problems involving their ancestral spirits and the domestic panorama of the supernatural world in general, they nevertheless maintain a rather well-defined set of priorities, supplicatory, and curative rites, each designed to suit a fairly specific situation and need.

III

The overall problem addressed in this monograph is the examination of certain Mapuche ritual expressions of morality in order to indicate as precisely as possible how, and to what extent, these beliefs and practices form an integral part of the cultural and social system. Therefore both relationship structure and the ideological or cultural framework in which these exist demand attention. A special and separate attempt to discover a functional relation between the structure of morality values and the social structure will be made in Chapter Four.

My position with regard to the structure of Mapuche morality has been influenced especially by the writings of Durkheim, van Gennep, Hertz, Mauss, Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, and their intellectual heirs, men who have concerned themselves with moral systems and their ritual expression as problems to be handled in the context of institutionalized social relationships. On the other hand, it is diametrically opposed to the position espoused, for example, by Herskovits, who wrote:

> Social institutions may be broadly interpreted to include economic and political associations as well as those based on

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kinship and free association. But only with difficulty can they be extended to include such aspects of human behavior as religion . . . to say nothing of the unspoken sanctions that underlie all conduct (1933:29). 134 114

This view of social systems has been demolished by modern social anthropology. Indeed, it was not the position of early twentieth-century Mapuche specialists, such as Coeven, Latcham, and Edwards (see Appendix).

Durkheim must be cited for his clear enunciation that religious phenomena are social phenomena and may be studied solely in terms of their interconnections as a system of beliefs and practices in relation to other structures of social action. It is 121 with this general concept in mind that Mapuche religious morality is herein discussed. It is my hope that in this context the Mapuche system of morality may be examined most profitably, that there will be greater understanding of Mapuche concepts and associated activities in themselves, and that this study will serve as a useful unit of comparison in the investigation of morality and ritual among other peoples.

In the struggle between good and evil there are three aspects 796 of ritual behavior which may be singled out for separate 955 considerations. These may be classed as community rites, private 754 rites, and secret rites layed, respectively, by priest and congregation, shaman, and sorcerer. Public rites are held periodically for the common good; shamanistic rites sometimes publically for the common good, but usually privately for individual ends; sorcery always secretively, and for the purpose of enhancing the position of one person or group over that of another. It is by no means always clear where the line between "evil ends" and "culturally condoned ends" is to be drawn with respect to sorcery. But there can be no general disagreement that, on the whole, shamanism is on the side of good (although shamans are sometimes feared) and sorcery on the side of evil.

This does not mean that sorcery is dysfunctional, or that 754 sorcery creates tensions within the social structure. In certain 182 instances the disruptive force of sorcery is apparent; in others, or perhaps from a wider angle of vision, it may be argued that sorcery—and, by extension, the concept of evil—is functional,

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in clearly defined groups based on kinship. Their operation may be analyzed at the level of the family, the lineage, and the reservation community. In the many books written about the Mapuche, there has been a good deal of confusion in regard to the structure and function of such groups, and their relation to the Mapuche system of morality and its ritual expression has not at all been systematically examined and, therefore, is only imperfectly understood.

Confusion seems to have resulted from three analytical or theoretical biases shared by practically all anthropologists and dilettanti who have written about the Mapuche during this and the latter part of the last century. All seem to have failed to perceive the essential difference between unilineal and residential principles of social integration, some having emphasized lineal over residential principles and others having stressed membership in a residential group without considering vital principles of unilineal descent. Secondly, there seems to have been a generally imprecise translation of Mapuche concepts into Spanish and English, reflecting certain sociological biases of the investigators. And lastly, there is a preponderance of interest shown in pseudohistorical reconstruction to the near exclusion of analysis of Mapuche society as it was at different periods investigated by these authors.

In prefacing my discussion of Mapuche rules of descent and residence, I may say briefly that the patrilineage is concerned with matters of property and status inheritance, the regulation and arrangement of lawful marriage, and the celebration of life crises, among other things, and that it was the main group involved in blood revenge (operating nowadays as the focal group in vengeance-by-witchcraft) and the payment of blood-money. Common residence serves to integrate all members of the reservation and, in a regional sense, members of several reservations, including in-married women, mainly in matters of economic cooperation, politics, fertility rites, recreative activities, and the like. Common residence paves the way for the integration of unrelated lineages and all affinal members attached to the cores of these lineages.

The Structure of the Patrilineage. Lineal descent is figured through males, membership in the patrilineage being determined by birth.

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may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of the bride's. 584 613

Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal exchange of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an untenable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious informants seem very interested in convincing the outsider that Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations deny any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and nuptial acts reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of brideprice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place. 583 114. 583 829 [115]

There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result that the economic value of the most important moveable items of brideprice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ostentatious exchange is made, since part of the brideprice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use. 583 [437]

Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride *is the sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or 583 423

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house. Only the person who is about to die sees this spectacle, usually in delirium. The *witranalwe* sometimes serves to guard its mistress' (or master's) animals. Its bad odor frightens away both humans and dogs. It is so used by witches and some shamans, for which reason shamans are felt to be dangerous and to have certain inclinations in common with sorcerers.

The *anchimallen* travels by foot along the byways and is distinguished by its glow, which appears to be floating a few feet above the ground. Some Mapuche say that only the little finger of the captured spirit (of a child) is used by the *kalku* in bringing the *anchimallen* into existence, and that this finger is seen to glow like a lighted cigarette or a firefly. Others believe that all the bones of the infant, or their essential form, are used, and that the entire chimerical skeleton glows, giving off a diffused light which appears as a white vestment. When the *anchimallen* passes a house it emits fire from its mouth and is sometimes mistaken for *cherufe*. Many lugubrious arguments result from different interpretations among the members of a household or neighborhood. *Anchimallen* and *witranalwe* desire human and animal blood, which they need for their daily sustenance, but they also imbibe alcohol and eat food consumed by the Mapuche themselves. Mapuche who have become somewhat influenced by Christian teachings tend to translate (at least for the anthropologist's benefit) *witranalwe* and *anchimallen* into Spanish as manifestations of Satan, who, in turn, they call *pillan*, in the manner of missionaries working in the indigenous zone.

The words *pellu*, *am*, *alwe*, *aiwin*, and *la* are all equated in one or another dictionary or ethnographic study with the Spanish concept of *alma*, soul.[1] Souls in the various states indicated by these five words have different attributes. *Am* is used in connection with souls of the living and, occasionally, with

[1] It is with this in mind, apparently, that Titiev cites the Mapuche belief in "multiple souls," which is hardly an explanation of the Mapuche idea. Multiple souls is a rather misleading designation. Mapuche do not believe in the simultaneous existence of several souls. Rather, they feel that a departed spirit may enter several ethereal states. This is partly a progression from life to death; partly a change in the quality of spiritual essence after death.

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of the Mapuche. What appears today is a composite whole having some regional variation in trait content. Titiev sums up his impression of the ceremony in the following words:

> Woven together into the great composite of *füllatun* rites are elements of machi lore, assembly customs, hockey games, curing and divination practices, and numerous other religious features, all of which are mingled in a two-day public celebration that is designed to give thanks for favors received or to ask for help in times of stress (1951:128).

While this seems to me to be an empirically valid observation, I fear it might leave the reader with the impression that the ceremony is little more than a hodgepodge of assorted beliefs and practices having no more than a vaguely functional relationship in that they are "woven together" and "mingled" in a way which is somewhat propitiatory, adulatory, or supplicatory.

In the following pages is a generalized account of *füllatun* ceremonies as I observed them on five widely separated sets of reservations in Mapucheland. Some regional variations seem partly due to the fact that today's ceremonies are an ensemble of the sort mentioned by Titiev. Once this is recognized, however, and we look below the surface phenomena, many such differences appear to have little or no social significance. Of great structural significance is the fact that variations is partly accounted for by different local groups propitiating different regional deities and their own ancestors.

A General Description of Füllatun. *Füllatun* ceremonies are not held according to an exact calendrical schedule, although nowadays they take place with regularity in the spring or after the fall harvest. In the past, according to historical documents and verbal accounts, they were sometimes held for other than agricultural fertility purposes. The principal nonagricultural motives seem to have been to ask *Ñenechen* and various of the minor gods for success in war and deliverance from plagues and general disaster. Today, concern is mainly with agricultural fertility and the general well-being of the congregation. Clearly a major aspect of *füllatun* is the offering of food to *Ñenechen*, the pantheon, and to ancestral spirits. Although these are not first fruit ceremonies, since they take place prior to the ripening

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I have stressed the priestly function of *füllatufe*, the sacrificial offerings to god and the ancestors, and the supplicatory nature of prayer, rather than the role of the shaman, the manipulation of her familiar spirits, and the somewhat greater coercive aspect of her activities. This is because most of the ceremonies I witnessed were conducted in the manner described. Only once did I see a *machi* take nearly full charge of a *füllatun*, and the difference in the shamanistic performance and the priestly ritual was considerable. In my opinion, the *machi* has achieved her status as participant in *füllatun* ceremonies largely by default, largely because of a growing scarcity of competent *füllatufe* in the face of a growing population and a continued need for *füllatun*.

The Shaman and the Priest. Titiev has pointed out that early writers do not agree "even on so fundamental a point as the role played by a machi" in the *füllatun* organization (1951: 130). The discussion that follows is offered as a hypothesis about the development of the role of the *machi* on one hand and that of the ritual priest (*füllatufe*) on the other. It is a plausible historical reconstruction which may be of some help in understanding the *machi*'s role in public fertility rites. It is not, however, necessary to an understanding of the structure of contemporary Mapuche society, the importance of *füllatun*, or *the significance of the ritual congregation in the scheme of* Mapuche morality. Nevertheless, it is relevant to the development of the modern ritual community.

There is always a head man at a *füllatun* ceremony. Ideally, the chief of the host reservation is head man. If not a chief, the head man is always a lineage elder, and almost always an elder of the dominant lineage. He operates with the support of peers of the other lineage segments on his reservation and elders from other reservations in the ritual congregation. In multi-reservational *füllatun* (which includes the vast majority of these ceremonies) the head man is always a chief, and the most important functionaries are chiefs from participating reservations.

If the chief conducts the ceremony, he is, *ipso facto*, the *füllatufe*. The host reservation feels strongly that its chief should be *füllatufe*, a person who has been instructed in the ritual and who has committed to memory traditional prayers in the archaic ritual language. But, at the larger ceremonies in which a number

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all reservations cooperate to hold *ñillatun*, it is sufficient that any one of the chiefs knows the ritual prayers and is able to organize the activities. Within the congregation, there is always at least one chief who performs as *ñillatufe*, even though his reservation might not be the host of any particular ceremony. It sometimes happens that none of the chiefs is fully capable in ritual performance to carry the entire load of ceremonial responsibility; and, although it is rare, sometimes a *ñillatufe* from another congregational unit will be called in. Usually, a reservation chief will perform the best he knows how, relying on the services of a *machi* to supplement his own lack of supernatural lore. Using a *machi* is always a communal decision.

Any man who officiates in a priestly role is called *ñillatufe*, regardless of whether he is capable of performing the entire ceremony himself or whether he needs the services of a *machi*. If a *ñillatufe*'s knowledge is considered inadequate to the purpose, the most common adjustment is to bolster his ability by calling in a shaman. His lack of ability is determined in council, by consensus of the elders of his and participating reservations, on the basis of his success or failure in previous ceremonies.

Félix José de Augusta and Moesbach were convinced that shamans did not participate in *ñillatun* ceremonies. Guevara wrote that they sometimes participated. It is likely that Félix José and Moesbach merely failed to witness such performance, but that shamans were active in *ñillatun* ceremonies at the time when they were compiling their ethnographic material. Guevara's testimony seems to indicate this. He wrote:

> Con anterioridad han sido designados para ofrecer el sacrificio propiciatario de los corderos, algunos hombres esperimentados, caciques por lo común, que en el ritual del ngillatun se conocen con el nombre de ngillatufe.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Entra entonces en acción la machi, si es una, i todas si son varias (1898:440).

What Guevara did not say is that there were also *ñillatun* in which *machi* did not participate at all, although such is clearly implied in his remarks. He argued at length about the connection between the *ñillatun* and ancestor worship, as did Latcham,

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114 796 769 [782] [178] in the unfortunate evolutionary vogue of his time. While none of his arguments concerning the development of ancestor worship is especially convincing or subject to verification, I feel that his observations about the inclusion of prayers to ancestors in *ñillatun* rites must be taken at face value. These prayers remain an important feature of *ñillatun* today, but it is likely that they were the main theme and the principal reason for its performance around the time Guevara wrote, during the early reservation period.

174 769 788 796 On this point, Guevara's statement is illuminating: "Hasta pocos años los indios celebraban un ngillatun particular, ordinariamente de una familia" (1898:440). In the celebration of this family ritual, ancestors were propitiated, but it is unclear whether or not the ancestors were particular, authentic ancestors of the family group or generalized forebears of regional populations. The former was likely the case. I feel that generalized ancestors became venerated in this way only after localized lineages developed and their membership increased, i.e. during the reservation period. Lineage depth increased, ritual congregations became defined according to participating reservational memberships, and local ancestor-gods emerged in a socially significant way. It is strange that Guevara should have written, "hasta pocos años"—the Mapuche had small, family-based rituals called *ñillatun*—for they do to this day. It is possible that Guevara was merely emphasizing the fact that ceremonial assemblages had increased in size by his time, and that they had become more complex than anything described for prereservation times, for he also says: "A veces el ngillatun assume grandes proporciones, porque lo acuerdan i llevan a cabo tres o cuatro grupos, es decir, una zona entera" (1898:440).

[756] [178] At the small, family-based *ñillatun* there was no officiating *machi*, nor is there one today. When describing the larger ceremonies, Guevara conceded that *machi* may participate. He never mentioned, however, that they dealt with spirits ancestral to the participating groups; nor do they today.

796 793 756 [178] Today, a *machi* always shares ritual functions with an authorized *ñillatufe*, on the occasions in which she participates at all. If there is no need for her services, she is not called in. A *machi* is not extended an invitation to perform simply because

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chiefs of other reservations within the responsible core, and this is expected of him by the members of his community. If a chief shirks this obligation, as occasionally happens when he is quite poor or does not care to make contributions, it is an affront to the ancestors and the gods. His constituents complain. If there seems some danger of breaking the ritual cycle, members of the linked reservations begin to grumble. Pressure is brought to bear on a recalcitrant chief by heads of subordinate lineages on his own reservation (his informal council) and by the chiefs of the linked reservations.

Elder of the dominant lineage, repository of ritual knowledge, responsible both to authentic and to mythical ancestors, spokesman for his entire community, the chief is the only person who is able to integrate the members of his reservation in concerted action and to represent them in the traditional manner in the ritual congregation. It is characteristic of being chief that ritual responsibility rests heavily with the position. The obverse side of this is that ordinary members of the community, who are not themselves elders, generally follow the chief's leadership in ritual matters without question, and often without full understanding or, at least, with apparently greater interest in the more festive as distinguished from the religious details of *ñüllatun*.

The chief's ritual leadership among the contemporary Mapuche, more than any other single factor, bolsters his political leadership. It is doubtful that this state of affairs is a carry-over from prereservation times. Rather, only since the localization of the Mapuche in small agricultural communities has *ñüllatun* involved such a large and heterogeneous congregationalism, and only since congregational development of this sort has taken place has the chief's political authority rested to such an extent on his role in public ritual. Formerly, it rested largely on his military ability, which enabled him to command allegiance in time of hostilities from a greater-than-kinship group.

The close and dependent relationship of the chief's political and ritual leadership to the integration of the reservation community is especially striking in contrast to its absence on reservations not having strong chiefs. These are the kinds studied by Titiev, which might partly account for the great

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difference between his interpretation of Mapuche society and mine. Where strong chiefs are lacking, there is generally weak or marginal participation of the community in *ñillatun*, and the chief's role as ritual leader falls to the shaman. While I hesitate to conjecture about the priority of ritual or political weakness, they are without doubt mutually debilitating. The weak chief is ritually inept and had lost the confidence of his people as a ritual leader. Often he is uninterested in ritual and makes no claim to ritual leadership. The members of his reservation must look elsewhere, to the chiefs of other reservations, for leadership—to them a distasteful alternative because it means that their own authentic ancestors are only imperfectly propitiated during the *ñillatun*. Since the chief is the elder of the dominant lineage on the reservation, it loses its control in ritual as well as in political affairs. Consequently, the reservation segments into its constituent households or, at least, into the several sublineages of the formerly dominant one and into subordinate lineages. Subordinate lineages then achieve an equal footing with the segments of the formerly dominant one. In the absence of political and ritual integration (the one implying the other), the reservation no longer forms a *truly corporate community*, and division of land into separalties often ensues. In this kind of situation, witchcraft plays an eminently dysfunctional role.

The chief is not only a personage of great importance at the *ñillatun* ceremony, therefore, but he must continue to be of great ritual importance and pass his status more or less intact to his heir, if his reservation is to survive as a corporate community. This of course has great implications for the survival of the entire ritual congregation, and for Mapuche society as a whole. If the chief does not assume the role of *ñillatufe* (or if the ritual leadership is not entrusted to another elder of the dominant lineage), the *ñillatun* gradually becomes something else, and there are both political and ritual repercussions. The chief as priest has a powerful influence, therefore, in maintaining communal integrity, in the continuing integration of the ritual congregation, and in the overall structure of Mapuche morality. The totality of relationship-sets forged in the *ñillatun* ceremony, is, perhaps more than any other single structure in Mapuche society, the configuration which distinguishes the Mapuche as a

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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prosperity which exists in Mapucheland with respect to persons of this profession.

All of the above discussion points to the fact that *machi* are active and powerful persons in the moral community, important human agents who deal with the supernatural through their pillan for the good of individuals and the community at large. The vast majority of *machi* are females, who concern themselves with female ancestors. In this thoroughly patrilineal and patripotestal society, the *machi*'s attention to female ancestors in the struggle between good and evil forces suggests a certain compensation for the overwhelming attention given to males in both the mundane and the spiritual segments of the Mapuche world.

Femininity and Shamanism. What are some of the social correlates of the sexual identification or symbolism of shamanism? Are there, as seems to be implied by certain anthropologists, indications of discontinuity in this symbolism (e.g. Cooper, Titiev)? All *machi* are not women, but I suspect that within the recorded history of the Mapuche there has never been a *machi* who was considered fully masculine. A consideration of why almost all contemporary *machi* are women seems to beg an *historical answer, since the present condition is usually described* in relative terms in which it is said that some significant shift from male-associated to female-associated shamanism has taken place. I will consider aspects of this historical problem solely with regard to the interpretation of the facts as reported in the literature. I do not think the supposed shift is a real issue. My interest is merely to clear the air for an interpretation of the latent function of female-associated shamanism in a thoroughgoing patrilineal, patripotestal society whose moral force derives from the proper propitiation of an agnatic core of ancestors.

The sources dealing with Mapuche shamanism have been summarized by Metraux (1942), and Cooper (1946) incorporated this summary into his own ethnographic survey of Mapuche sources. In neither of these treatments, nor in Titiev's (1951), is there any information which indicates either the cause or the magnitude or, in precise terms, the period of the supposed shift from male to female shamanism, although this shift is considered. Cooper has this to say:

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In earlier times, the male shamans were very commonly transvestites, dressing as women and practicing sodomy. By the second half of the 18th century, the machis were ordinarily women. In more recent times, the profession has been followed almost exclusively by women (1946:750).

There is an odd turn of logic here, or a hidden assumption. Simply because male shamans were transvestites does not mean that there were no female shamans, although that seems to be the implication, or that they were outnumbered by men. Nevertheless, judging from the rest of his remarks, this appears to have been Cooper's conclusion—a conclusion rectifiable only by a revision of the sources he himself must have utilized, for these do not bear him out (e.g. *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago*, and the sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century sources cited in the bibliography).

The shift from a male-dominated profession, at some vague period prior to the middle of the eighteenth century, to the contemporary dominance by females is actually unsubstantiated. Titiev points out that he has arrived at the same conclusions independently of Cooper, and writes:

> *Many years ago the editor was* generally held by men, and *it is* practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. *Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest . . .* transvestites, and widespread *indulgence in sodomy and pederasty was* common (1951:117).

Titiev also believes that there were more males than females practicing shamanism at some time in the past. It is also implied that there were a great number of male *machi*, if the words "widespread indulgence in sodomy," etc. were not used inadvertently or otherwise. This judgment is not in agreement with the source material on which, if it purports to be an historical statement at all, it must certainly have been based. Rosa Smith, specially referring to male shamans, states that *machi* were expensive practitioners because their numbers were few (1914 [Spanish translation of 1855 English edition]: 142). Citing Emilio Hevia (1939:119), Titiev implies that prior to the latter nineteenth century there were no female shamans, after which time there followed "a period when the post of

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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machi might be filled by a man or a woman" (1951:117). There are a number of sources on the Mapuche, a few of which appear in Titiev's bibliography, which could be cited to throw doubt on this statement. However, going far back, Ovalle (1646) tells us that there were female *machi* in the seventeenth century, and the *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago* attest to their existence in the sixteenth century, as well. The greatest problem involved in judgments of this sort made by Cooper and Titiev seems to be related to an impatience with the historical record.

According to the best documented sources dealing with the events of relatively recent history, such as the works of Modlitsch and Félix José de Augusta, we know that there were many female *machi* practicing around the end of the last century, and that the methods of supernatural curing were pretty much as they are today. Female *machi* are not distinguished from males except for the latter's role in forecasting the outcome of military activities. It is possible that when peace was established the male *machi* lost stature among their followers (although this seems undiscoverable from the written records) either because they were felt to have lost power or because there was no longer a need for their costly services. Whether or not this was the case seems undiscoverable from the sources, or from the learned discourses presumably based on the sources, and to build anything on this kind of guess is methodologically unsound. We are left, however, with a consideration of power and its inheritance, which takes us to a consideration of the *machi*'s position with respect to patrilineal descent groups and the system of matrilateral marriage—regardless of the sex of the shaman.

Shamanistic power is not inherited from one's father or mother or from other close relatives. It is not inherited at all, in the sense of being transmitted to someone because of his position in some kind of descent group, however conceived. A male shaman might instruct his son to become adept in shamanistic theatrics (although I cannot give eye-witness proof of this information), but supernatural power is never passed along from one living person to another. It is also doubtful if a male shaman has familiar spirits, which is perfectly consistent with the morality structure of a patrilineal system. Female shamans do have familiar spirits from whom they receive power;

12: Faron E-4,5 (1952-1954) 1964
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shamanism fill the distaff side of the universe. Even if not homosexual, even if engaging in transvestitism only during performances, the male *machi* is "ugly" and "unmasculine" in Mapuche eyes. He is blind, crippled, or distinguished by his vivid and unnatural dreams from the Mapuche male. I suggest that this symbolic association has characterized Mapuche thinking since time immemorial and that, in this important respect, there has been no shift from male to female dominance.

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The manipulation of ancestral spirits of the localized lineage is unthinkable among the Mapuche. Entering the body of a *machi*, a spirit is placed in danger of capture by *kalku* and, therefore, almost contaminated at the outset. Since the *machi*'s familiars are not ancestral to the group, her supernatural machinations do not pose a threat to the persons among whom she practices. As outsiders without linkage to ancestral spirits, female shamans are precisely those persons in whose hands supernatural power is safest.

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There is, I find, a significant negative correlation between shamanism on the one hand and the system of patrilineages and *that of matrilateral marriage on the other*. The shaman stands *out* from the spiritual conclave of lineage ancestors. She stands outside the structure of kinship and marriage, in any concrete set of relationships, and she is unimportant with respect to the governing principles of patrilineal descent and patripotentiality in both the worldly and otherworldly spheres of Mapuche life.

Kalku: Marshalling the Forces of Evil

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Published information about sorcery among the Mapuche is rich, in the sense of abundance, and poor in terms of experiential quality, consistency, and verifiability. Some of the recorded myths have disappeared (we seem to be of the twentieth-century vintage they are labeled). The imperfections and incompleteness is partly attributable to a reluctance on the part of the Mapuche to be specific, a reluctance to point an accusing finger at a witch at close range. There is also some confusion, of considerable significance, in distinguishing a *kalku* from a *machi*. Speaking in terms of contemporary Mapuche notions, this confusion sometimes results when feelings about the forces

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of evil run high. One result has been an evident lack of clarity about this distinction in most recent literature. One thing is certain, however, past and present, sorcery is rife in Mapuche-land, and it is of great daily concern to the people.

Since all information about witchcraft is secondhand, that is, since it is about witches rather than from witches, and since concern with witchcraft is of such importance, it is not surprising that upon sorting out the statements of informants almost every lonco on almost every reservation seems to contain its kalku. Mapuche give ample evidence that there are many more kalku than machi.

Anyone may practice witchcraft, or attempt to, and under certain circumstances is to be feared. But it is generally acknowledged that some kalku are more powerful than others. These are the kalku of reputation, the professionals who have a clientele, with whom people consult for purposes of evil, occasionally of great evil. Lesser matters such as causing harm to a neighbor's crops or animals may be undertaken by ordinary Mapuche, although not always with success. When the venture is great and when success must be guaranteed, resort is made to professional kalku. These almost daily elucidations by the outsider, since overt knowledge of powerful witches is an admission of complicity on the part of the informant. Expressions, such as "they say" punctuate accounts about witchcraft. It is generally agreed, however, that powerful kalku are women and that among these are some machi who have been defeated by the forces of evil, or who have not been initiated into the profession as full-fledged shamans. These latter are easy to identify, because they do not have the traditional machi's pole outside their house.

Kalku may inherit their power from ancestors who are kalku, but recruits also come in large number from young girls who are unrelated, or only distantly related, to the witch who inducts them into her circle. Ideally, kalku take these recruits to their ruka, or witches' cave, there they instruct them through example in the practice of sorcery, and hold them to secrecy on pain of death. Actually, instruction is piecemeal, informal, takes place on the reservation, and involves a good deal of improvisation on the part of the aspiring witch. As with a machi, the feeling of

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women who engage in evil practices for a clientele. While many persons are said to know magic incantations and may summon the forces of evil to their own behalf, they are felt to have but little if any power, and are not deemed professionals in the absence of a clientele. Principal among the supernatural beings controlled by a kalku are her own ancestral spirits, those of other kalku, as well as spirits which she has captured. As with *machi*, there is no female line involved, but kalku do manipulate spirits ancestral to their own natal lineage. In contrast to *machi*, therefore, kalku are especially dangerous to their own closest relatives and their ancestors, ancestors of linked lineages in the traditional matrilateral marriage system. A powerful kalku may control many spirits captured by her, the unpatterned spirits of the dead whose due converts into wekufe and who assume various malevolent forms, such as witranalwe, anchimallen, pivichiches, chonchones, and others. Kalku, then, are doubly feared because they not only practice evil but commit their spirit helpers from their own ancestral group.

Kalku are not healers, are not given credit for having any knowledge of good. They are hated as do evil.* They poison through the agency of their supernatural aids; they cause their familiars to capture (eat), consume spirits—chiefly unborn souls and spirits of the dead—which they use to their own evil ends. Kalku's spirits never die, never leave earth, but are inducted to become a function of descendants or converts.

The community rejoices when a kalku dies. I witnessed this twice and heard many stories about it. Both times I saw this attitude expressed were on occasions of ildakun, held after the death of a suspected kalku (but not for the express purpose of celebrating her death). The death of relatives was mentioned in the ildakun oration by way of giving thanks to Nenechen and the protecting ancestors. Again and again it was hoped that the kalku's spirit would be chased elsewhere to live and do evil. The special idiom in which joy was expressed involved the phrase "a dog has died." On each of these occasions, the kalku's family

*The same is problem with regard to sorcerers in witchcraft. If enough is built socially sanctioned, can it of itself or can its human agents be considered evil? How is this dichotomy to be regarded with regard to function, dysfunction, anomie?

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Six: THE STRUCTURE OF SYMBOLIC VALUES IN THE RITUAL INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY

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FOLLOWING Durkheim, Radcliffe-Brown wrote long ago that "it is incumbent upon us to discover and demonstrate the social function of a religious rite" (1952:180). Since the propitiation of ancestral spirits is central to the scheme of Majeuche morality, it could possibly be argued that concern with these spirits in some way conditions most aspects of Majeuche social life. However, this line of inquiry might easily lead down to a morass of circuitous evaluations and judgments, as does Durkheim's classification of phenomena into sacred and profane categories, and, in any case would not even so much as the exercise of a total comparison of the relationship between Majeuche ideational and social systems. But it may be possible to discover a more fundamental principle than ancestor propitiation in Majeuche society, in which the total structure of symbolic values may be related meaningfully to the social order. This is the line of inquiry pursued here.

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In Durkheim's treatment of the sacred and the profane, one encounters a consideration of what are clearly social values of society. It is according to these values that the sacred and the profane categories are defined. But one is confronted with a priori reasoning and tortuous argument to the end of establishing all phenomena in categories of either sacred or profane dimensions. The pervasive notion of dualism among the Majeuche, as both of their gloses, would seem to lend itself to orthodox Durkheimian classification. A sacred-profane dichotomy certainly exists in Majeuche thought, but by no means all Majeuche values, even paired as they are in sets of complementary opposites, are amenable to dichotomization in Durkheim's terms. Thus, the sacred-profane classification is not fully applicable to the Majeuche system of values or, at least, does not encompass it. This, it might be said, is well enough—inasmuch

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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tive difficulties indicating the empirical limits of analysis in the framework of a sacred-profane dichotomization of the Mapuche world view. But this actually leaves very much to be desired since the limits of analysis seem to be reached or approached at the outset.

From a number of examples of this kind of difficulty which suggest themselves, I select the possible classification of shamans as sacred and sorcerers as profane. With respect to the Mapuche, this classification is pointless, even if a possible interpretation according to Durkheimian logic, since both shamans and sorcerers have a suspicious quality and since even sorcerers, although clearly evil in most contexts and in most contexts, operate on the positive side of the moral universe when called upon to exact vengeance. Durkheimian thinking would probably deny such an interpretation, but the alternative route it suggests is, I feel, unattractive and dangerous. Not the least reason for this is that it would take one entirely outside the limits of Mapuche thinking or traditional reasoning, the relationship between the conceptual model and its empirical foundation becoming most tenuous. Again, with reference to the way Mapuche express themselves, sacred phenomena are good, but not all good is sacred. Sacred-profane and good-evil concepts actually cut across one another when unadulterated Durkheimian reasoning is brought to bear on them.

The value of any concept of anthropology is measured by its usefulness in understanding and ordering social and cultural phenomena. Since these phenomena are social and cultural and do not exist in a vacuum, they must be ordered in correspondence to the manner in which they are viewed by the people themselves. This is not to say that the Mapuche need visualize a total structural order, but that their partial, piecemeal, and seemingly unbroken views be consistent with whatever conceptual order is imposed upon their social and cultural system by the anthropologist. I take my cue, therefore, from the Mapuche themselves.

The interpretative difficulties of the sacred-profane approach are resolvable once it is recognized that the underlying motif of Mapuche thought is not a comprehensive good-evil or sacred-profane set of categories but, rather, a dualistic world view into

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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With regard to the subordinate lineage-dominant lineage set, little more need be said. The subordinate lineages are localized on the reservation by sufferance of the dominant one. Members of subordinate lineages look to the dominant one for political and ritual leadership (as well-functioning subdivisions) and, in any case, are found to trace descent back to the time of the original chief in order to validate certain rights. The greater rights of the dominant lineage have worked their effect on both the size and composition of dominant and subordinate lineages throughout Mapuchedom, and it will be remembered that it is from the subordinate lineages that most young people emigrate to the cities and farms of Chile and Argentina, being accorded fewer real opportunities than members of dominant lineages to gain a living on their natal reservations. In some cases, where feelings run high, members of these subordinate lineages are called by the opprobrious name winka, usually reserved for whites.

The reciprocity of gift-giver to gift-receiver is not absolute, although in any particular situation gift-receivers are at least momentarily in an inferior position. With respect to ceremonies such as trafkin and kawchulun, in which gift-giving is important, the persons involved alternate periodically (yearly) as giver and receiver. But the recipient at any phase of the cycle is under moral obligation to return the gift at the next juncture, placing himself in an inferior position until the completion of the next phase of the cycle, symbolizing a mutual and cyclically asymmetrical obligation. Since a gift must be reciprocated, the receiver is in a position of formal obligation to the giver. When the return is made the other party becomes recipient in turn—and so on. In the awe ceremony an example of the obligations associated in gift-giving and receiving is placing gifts in the coffin (wekiñ), an act which expresses the obligations of the living to the dead, to return the proper kuimeal of which binds the departed spirit to watch over the living. And in the network of marriage alliances, an integral part is the relative, shifting hierarchic asymmetry of gift-receivers and gift-givers.

As I discussed earlier, Titiev's assertion that there is equal exchange of marriage wealth (Titiev 1951:101) is wholly inconsistent with Mapuche values and their social correlates. The

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In my opinion it is a cultural device for expressing a relationship of great importance in the most intimate familial terms possible (See Forde 1961). But this is only a partial explanation of what such expressions might mean to the Majoruna. A fuller explanation may suggest itself, one which relates to the notion of incest and which is understandable in terms of the dualistic ordering of the social system. It is simply that the cultural ideal of mother's brother's daughter marriage symbolizes complete observance of the matrilateral rule (*ahinapa*), by which marriage is not only preferred between two stable, intermarrying lineages but is prescribed between males and the groups into which their lineage sisters, daughters, and granddaughters marry. A mother's brother's daughter marriage is a shorthand or symbolic representation of both lineage exogamy and matrilateral preference, in complementary opposition to incest, which would result from its infraction.

I have already indicated the general sense of the concept *wiche*, a term reserved especially for non-Majoruna, although sometimes used in anger or fear in relation to considered or real group Majoruna. For the Majoruna, all the indigenous peoples of the world are Majoruna; all subsistence *wiche*. Their questions about "Majoruna" in the United States or in other South American countries call this to the anthropologist's attention. There seems to be a clear-cut dichotomy here.

Related to the concept of outsider or stranger, however, is the notion of geographical division in Majoruna itself, that is, among Majoruna. The word Majoruna means "people of the land," and all Indians classified as Amazonian tribal Domestic Majoruna, standing at each point in the center of his own little world. Majoruna residing to the north are referred to as *Pi-maroha* (above north), to the south, *Unahiche* (hold south), to the east, *Pamoche*, and to the west, along the coast, *Lahimoche* (below coast). Some writers have taken these geographical directional classifications to mean that local political and social divisions existed among the pre-contact Majoruna. There seems no good evidence in the literature in support of this conclusion. Rather, there are clearly relative terms by which all Majoruna are able to orient themselves and sort out tribes of other Majoruna if necessary. Non-Majoruna are never classified

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social changes resulting from external forces, and their cultural context or belief.

What about religious belief—how it changed commensurate to ritual action, or ritual seems to have altered in relation to changes in other areas of social structure (e.g. regrouping and localization of population)? There are several ways of looking at this question. First of all, I find that while social changes have been substantial, they have taken place within the traditional framework of Mapuche society and are, therefore, not radical departures from past organization, marriage preferences, ceremonial prerogatives, etc., which have been recorded since before the reservation system went into effect. If nothing else, this means that major changes have not been transformed, i.e. have not been operating to fashion Mapuche society or culture in some sort of Chilean likeness. And, since greater value than less social complexity has resulted from these modifications, it does not seem proper to view Mapuche society as "breaking down." I think, therefore, that some attention should be paid to the phenomena which make for constancy, the resistance to change which conditions its rate and direction. The attention given to constancy is usually subordinated within a discussion of the force [or weight] of tradition, and sometimes in so few words. In evaluating this force of tradition, system analysis should be undertaken, and I think that a good place to begin such inquiry is in the general area of religious belief and action, the system of religious sanctity. Without a structural-functional orientation any discussion of culture change would necessarily involve much undesirable guesswork and reliance on a "common sense" reconstruction of said bits of fact and lore. It is this lack of total analysis which renders ineffectual much of Titiev's concluding chapter, "The Changing Pattern of Culture" (1951: 191-211).[1]

Radcliffe-Brown suggests that ritual beliefs would tend to change more quickly than ritual activities. I do not feel that

[1] It is difficult to reconcile Titiev's overall commitment to functional analysis with statements such as, "Religious functions, too, have passed out of the hands of the chiefs" (1951: 208), and, with regard to the control by men of Mapuche wealth, control of population, "... an economic view of population as control was" (1951: 209).

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Mapuche

APPENDIX

RATHER than discuss the position of various well-known Mapuche specialists in the text of this book, I append what I consider some of their more important statements on the matter of morality. On the whole, these tend to support my thesis, and I shall hold my comments to a minimum.

Of Mapuche morality, Cuevas (1918) writes:

> Este conjunto de reglas de tradición, consideran como las principales deberes el respeto al padre, a los antepasados i al rito. . . . La entidad moral reside . . . en la familia . . . (109).

Here we have an indication of the religious sphere of social action, although Cuevas never clearly recognized Mapuche magic as religion. This is indicated in his following remark.

> Para procurar su comunicación con los espíritus bienhechores i neutralizar la acción de los malos . . . la necesitado permanecer íntegros. . . . Ha necesitado además, a grados inicialos que proegan en practica las mas elevadas reglas al objeto. Estas aprensiones i aprendizajes forman los elementos de la magia araucana (131; italics added).

Cuevas's measure of morality was not hampered by a Christian bias, but his "failure" to recognize the religiosity of Mapuche magic seems a result of his having regarded paganism as an evolutionary switch below true religion. At any rate, Cuevas does not seem to have been concerned with the problem of magic versus religion or with considerations of sacred-profane categories, although as a result of his wide reading he was surely aware that these were theoretical problems.

Latcham's work (1924) is cluttered with speculations about what he called "totemism," a topic further bogged down in an argument that matrilineality preceded patrilineality among the Mapuche. Despite this penchant for reconstructing Mapuche history, Latcham managed to present many data in a structural manner and dealt with the relationships of ancestor propitiation,

12: Faron E-4, 5 (1952-1954) 1964
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114 public ritual, and the moral order. Latcham's totemic clans seem to have been localized patrilineages which formed part of incipient ritual congregations. Latcham's description of the beginnings of the reintegration of Mapuche society is a stimulating one, as contrasted to his speculations about its origins in the pre-Spanish era.

In the work of Augustín Edwards (1929) we find an evaluation of statements of many of his predecessors and a synthetic contribution of his own, much of which is of high quality. I would like to discuss a few points, however, with which I am in disagreement. What I consider to be a glaring misinterpretation is his remark: "In the minds of the Mapuche, morality and religion are two essentially different things" (26). Edwards supported this conclusion with a quotation from Guevara which maintains that in their invocations the Mapuche merely ask for favors and do not attempt to make amends for their faults (26). The standard Edwards applies appears to be that of Christian religious morality, as evidenced by his contention that "Mapuche morality does not make a distinction between good and evil in the same form as Christian morality does. For the Mapuche, that which conforms to his traditions and superstitions is good and that which is not in consonance with them is bad" (29). The second sentence might be generalized to include all systems of religious morality. In any case, I take it as supporting evidence of my thesis.

In writing of ancestor propitiation and sorcery, Edwards, to my mind, provides data and conclusions which contradict the statements of his I have just cited. As far as it goes, his treatment of sorcery is excellent. He writes in part:

> *In the matter of enchantments and sorcery the Mapuche of the present day are no different from those of the time of the discovery and conquest of Chile. This is undoubtedly their most deeply rooted and ancient belief and the most profound and pronounced trait of the Mapuche character . . .*" (28).

While this statement is subject to certain qualifications a half-century after Edwards wrote, it is still essentially applicable to contemporary Mapuche society and indicates the persistence of the Mapuche moral system. Edwards goes on to say:

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. . . there are things which are traditionally forbidden. . . . And the doing of forbidden things entails fatal consequences. That is the moral restraint par excellence (28). 1140

And in continuation:

. . . all that disciplines their instincts and keeps their behavior within certain limits of reciprocal justice and equity is their veneration for their ancestors and their traditions and their fear of vengeance, which constituted and still constitutes the punitive right in force among the Mapuches that have not become civilized (29).

Edwards also notes that vengeance was a responsibility of the injured person's family and was "carried out from group to group" (29). Finally, he writes that:

Evil is brought about by the art of enchantment or witchcraft and punishment is inflicted by the retaliation. This was, and still is, the essence of moral law among the Mapuche who have not modified their ideas and customs (29).

While I am not in complete agreement with this judgment, for it omits other moral considerations, it is a fair enough appraisal of an important segment of the moral system. I would like to note, however, that this and other of Edwards' remarks do not wholly support his contention that "Sorcery or witchcraft was the very essence of immorality" (28). While this might be said of those actions of the sorcerer taken solely for her private gain, I pose this question with reference to rank and file Mapuche: "If sorcery is undertaken for vengeance, and if vengeance is a morally accepted practice, is sorcery, in this instance, evil?" There are some interesting implications in this matter with regard to, among other things, the definition of shaman and sorcerer, the line between good and evil magic, the function of sorcery and the existence of evil in the integration of Mapuche society.

Titiev (1951), in an otherwise highly descriptive account of Mapuche ritual and similarities and differences between shamans and sorcerers, comes to this important conclusion:

Apparently, the Araucanians believe in a sort of dualism in which good powers that sustain society oppose evil forces that disrupt the social order (124).

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114 It is clear that Titiev, although often only implicitly, relates morality and ritual expression among the Mapuche. This, unfortunately, is not done systematically or in any detail. Nor does one find in the works of Titiev and Hilger (1957) indication of an interest in understanding the social relationships which form the structure of religious morality. Both of these authors handle the spheres of magic and religion as distinct, although overlapping, areas of ritual.

None of the authors cited above may be said to be wholly aligned with the point of view of Herskovits' statement quoted in the Introduction. That is to say, none of these ethnologists appears to have felt obliged to argue that it is difficult to consider religion and morality as social institutions, although some of them made no effort to analyze religion sociologically and did not really concern themselves with the Mapuche system of morality.

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and sons. Finally, they killed the Governor Loyola in an ambuscade. He it was who married a daughter of Don Diego Sayri Tupac Ynca,[1] who came forth from Villcapampa before you left the country. May God have mercy on the dead, and succour the living."

Thus far is from the letter of Father Abraham, besides other and more that he wrote to me, which, being very horrible, I will omit. Among other things, he told me of the bad times at Arequipa, where wheat, in that year, sold at ten to eleven ducats, and maize at thirteen.

After all that has been said of Arequipa, its miseries still continue, from the inclemency of all the four elements, which cause damage there, as appears from the reports that the Fathers of the Holy Company of Jesus sent to their General in the year 1602. In the same reports they relate the still greater miseries of the kingdom of Chile. Their account was given to me by Father Francisco del Canto, a native of Grimaldi, who in this year 1606 is master of the schools of the Second College of Cordova, and reads rhetoric in them. The account of the state of Chile, copied word for word, with its title, is as follows:—

"OF THE REBELLION OF THE ARAUCOS.

"Out of the thirteen cities which the Spaniards had in Chile, the Indians destroyed six, namely, Valdivia, Imperial, Angol, Santa Cruz, Chillan, and Concepcion. They destroyed the houses and churches, and overthrew the fair

[1] Don Martin Garcia de Loyola was a nephew of the famous Ignatius Loyola. He married the Ynca Princess Clara Beatriz, daughter of Sayri Tupac, the son of Ynca Manco, by Anaita Cusi Huarcay, daughter of the Ynca Huascar. There is a picture of the bride and bridegroom in the church of the Jesuits at Cuzco. Loyola was appointed Captain-General of Chile, where he was killed in an ambuscade by the Araucanos, as mentioned in the text. His daughter by the Ynca Princess, named Leonora, was created Marchioness of Oropesa, and married Don Juan Henriquez de Borja, of the House of Gandia.